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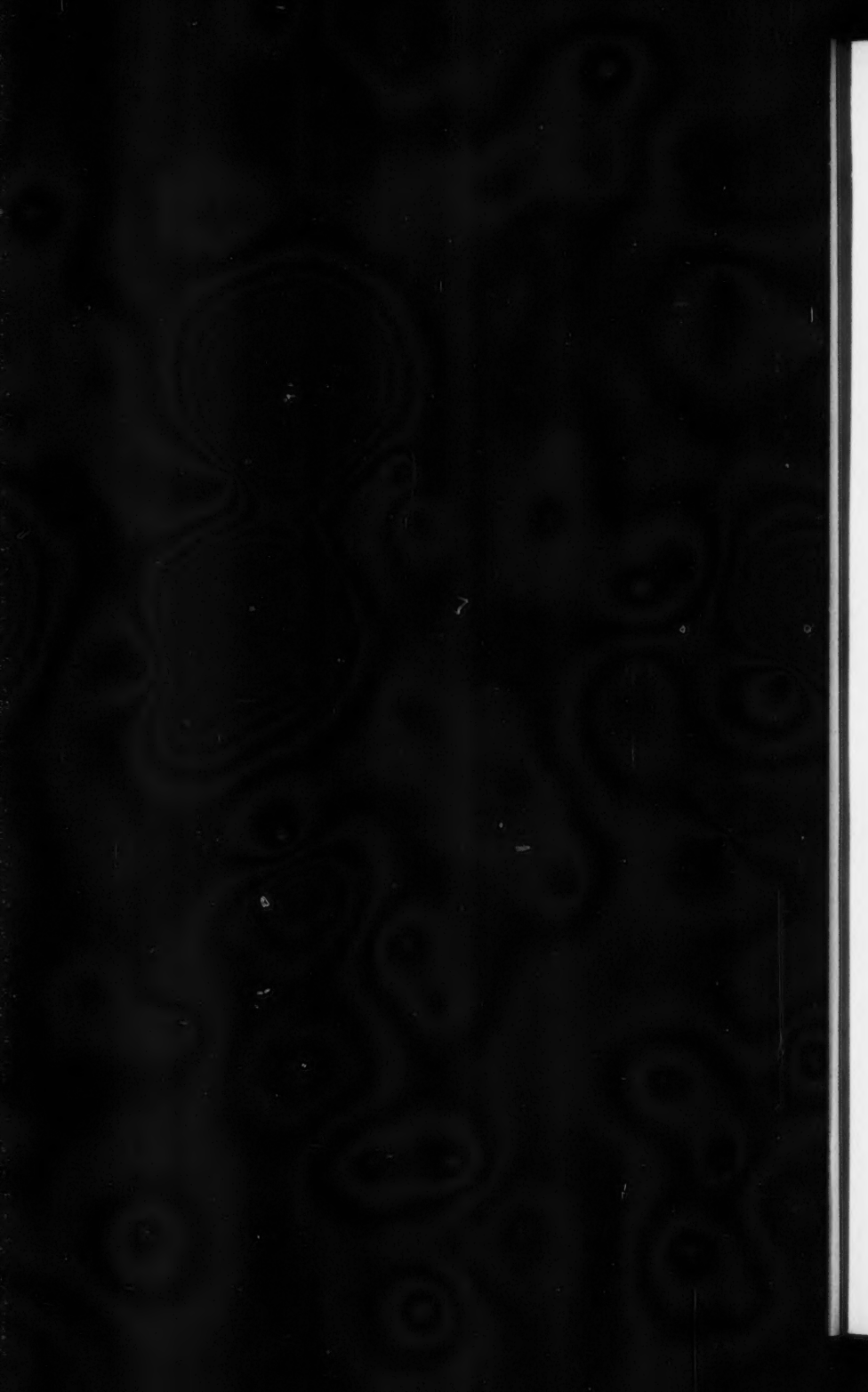
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AUGUST STRINDBERG—1849-1912

BETWEEN TWO ERAS

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THE year 1949 marks the centenary of Sweden's outstanding man of letters: August Strindberg. Although he has been dead thirty-seven years, this man and his remarkable works still constitute for American students a largely unexplored field of literature. Indeed, even to many who profess to be specialists in the modern drama, Strindberg is little more than a name which evokes a sense of uneasiness. There may also be vague recollections of woman-hating, irrationality, the unconventional, the little theater, North-European provincialism, with older scholars recalling that Strindberg was once considered a bright light on the horizon of the literary world. He is not, however, definitely classified in the professional mind; hence he remains to a great extent an enigma, something to touch upon lightly or else completely ignore.

It is my conviction that Strindberg is by no means a literary puzzle, certainly not for those of us living in these first few years following the close of the Second World War. That is why in this essay I propose to discuss the man and two eras—that which has been and that which is coming into being—for, to me, Strindberg appears to be a kind of artistic colossus having one foot resting uncertainly on the crumbling old and the other seeking support on the yet unstable new.

It is, in truth, a tantalizing hypothesis that Strindberg's intuitional genius was so great that he apprehended the position of contemporary men, that is, men contemporary to him, to us, and perhaps to the immediately following generations. In point of fact there can be no gainsaying that this Swedish artist had a hypersensitive awareness of himself as a conscious man, that

he struggled fervently to probe the depths of his own nature so as to uncover whatever reality might be found there. From a position of institutionalized religion, Strindberg moved to an avowed atheism and then evolved into a partial mystic, one not fully divorced from superstition. Scientifically he tried to get at the common basis of all matter, but his skill and training did not match his intuitional grasp and he was unsuccessful in his research. Socially he looked for an Eden but found himself sinking ever more deeply into a human Hell. In no case could he master the situation, whether in the microcosm of his own being or the macrocosm of the world at large.

Despite some of his actions and the tone of a number of his literary works, Strindberg yielded finally neither to religious resignation nor to psychical disintegration. The Unknown in *To Damascus* at least made a gesture of resignation, but Strindberg himself did not cease thinking, searching, and writing, although negative results came constantly to hand. Unlike the Captain in *The Father*, Strindberg did not surrender to insanity. Nor was he lured by a feeling of futility to cry out "Carpe diem!" and thus ignore all problems by anaesthetizing himself with whatever pleasures life could afford. Rejecting the old absolutes, abandoning the axiomatic certainties of the past, Strindberg endeavored to seize upon his freedom, to seek and to find whatever might be. Doggedly he pursued the way of the free man, and in seeking to free himself and others, he became inextricably involved, enwebbed, entangled, enmeshed. In the long run he was also frustrated. And he moved toward a possibly logical end of all determined searches for freedom: spiritual isolation accompanied by great compassion for the generality of men. Mankind is to be pitied! "Det är synd om människan!"

Strindberg was tremendously aware—terrifyingly and tremblingly aware—of the fact that not merely were many things amiss in our world but that everything of importance seemed to be losing its function as a *point d'appui*. The old values had lost their inherent solidity, their quality of permanence, and the new ones were as yet either inadequate or too unformed to offer support. There was no turning backward to rest on the quondam firm foundations of the past; there was nothing to which one

could move forward with confidence. Strindberg was caught between two great eras, the one that had not yet passed and the one that had not yet come into being.

Sources of Confusion

It is customary to speak of great men in relation to the society in which they lived. In recent years some writers have also pointed out the difficulties encountered in the treatment of such a relation. Inasmuch as we are discussing Strindberg and two eras rather than one, we should be cognizant not only of the usual difficulties but also of the possibility of increasing them, perhaps even geometrically.

Patently a genius and a society may react in so many different ways that one cannot select any one as the sole right way. Note, for example, the following possibilities: (1) the great man may make society what it is, moulding it in his own image; (2) society may fashion the great man; (3) the two may complement each other; (4) the two may interact positively and develop each other; (5) society and the great man may engage each other antagonistically; (6) they may be mutually indifferent; (7) both may be determined by chance; (8) both may be determined by antichance. Finally, as so often occurs, it may not be any one of these that forbids analysis, but a combination of two or more, or perhaps all in a complex mass and arrangement. It is clear that no social law exists to help us solve the problems arising from the relations of a genius to his Age, for by the nature of the attendant circumstances, the evidence can never be complete.

Our problems are, however, still more complicated by difficulties arising from another source. We have, for example, often employed terms like "society," "age," and "era" without bearing in mind that such terms are only abstractions, verbal conveniences. The same error is apparent when we discuss the institutions of society and treat them as though they were tangible entities. August Strindberg was a man, a human animal, definable as such, and hence he functioned as an organic unit. A society, an age, or an era, on the other hand, is only a figment of the mind, a verbal invention by means of which we

provide a definite, unified existence for that which essentially is indefinite, disparate, and without tangible existence. Thus when we write about a genius and his Age we are discussing two elements that are not commensurable: the one is an objective phenomenon; the other, a subjective invention. The man August Strindberg was born; he was seen, heard, wined, and dined; he died and was buried; his collected works comprise fifty-five very tangible volumes. His contemporaries thus had many objective contacts with the man; but no one had any such contacts with the age in which Strindberg lived.

All that we can say about a society or an age is that a man may influence a fellow man or many other men, or vice versa; or, to put it otherwise, when many men seem to be acting in much the same way, we tend to discuss them as though they constituted an integral or corporate unit, a society. Moreover, when through a period of time a society seems to have a distinct character, we call it an age or era. There is, of course, no harm in this manner of speaking, provided we always keep in mind that we have employed a convenient fiction to help us comprehend some facts.

From what has just been said, it follows that we should have certain implications in mind when we discuss Strindberg and two eras. During Strindberg's lifetime large numbers of men and women were, consciously or unconsciously, ceasing to act as their predecessors had acted and likewise ceasing to subscribe to the ideas handed down to them. Some of them were outwardly conforming to the old patterns of thought and action, but this was lip service without conviction. Others were striving to find new and acceptable patterns of behavior, new and substantial principles for guidance. At the same time, however, they were not thinking and acting in complete freedom; their actions and beliefs were not wholly voluntary responses of the free, inquiring mind. Through their crafts, businesses, discoveries, and sciences, men had finally created what we call the Industrial Revolution, which, in turn, required behavior patterns that have helped to make contemporary people what they are.

Let us repeat. Strindberg was a man, an objective phenomenon. 'The old era' is a term referring to the close similarity of

action and belief on the part of men and women on the basis of their regard for certain principles which they considered unshakable and even absolute. 'The new era' refers to the close similarity of action and belief on the part of men and women on the basis of their admitted inability to accept principles of their predecessors plus their search for or declaration of another and more satisfying way of life.

The Pattern of the Old Era

Let us look backward, bearing in mind that our perspective is largely West-European and Mediterranean. The concepts of our predecessors bear witness of a people whose convictions of certainty and of absolutes generally nullified a completely free inquiry before it had much opportunity to flourish, certainly before it could develop a scientific or truth-seeking skepticism. The latter element rarely enjoyed anything more than a hypothetical or academic existence. Faith among our predecessors was a conditioned response of such power that there was no room for an inquiry that genuinely probed into the core of actions and of ideas. Indeed, free thinking was immediately associated with an attack on institutionalized religion; it denoted a lack of proper faith, with the result that "freethinker" was synonymous with "infidel." To be disinterested was tantamount to being atheistic.

This faith of the old era was not a matter of belief in a mystical, incorporeal spirit, an all-pervading, etherealized Nature, a philosophical concept, or any verbalization connoting evanescence; it was belief in a corporate deity. This corporate deity was a glorified image of man, an image inescapably modified by a remarkable number of man's characteristics. God, in other words, was a person. The Holy Trinity, despite hundreds of years of theological debate revolving about hypostatic unity, remained *tres personae* not only for the laity but for the majority of the clergy as well. Consubstantiation, impanation, and transubstantiation are doctrinal words which further emphasize the corporate quality of deity.

But there were more than deities of an upper world. As there was the beneficent force, God, there was also the maleficent force, Satan, or the Devil. Heaven, the abode of the good in the

upper world, was a dimensional place even as Hell, the abode of evil in the lower world, was also a dimensional place. The "other world," in its dual locations, was peopled as this earth is peopled. Always there were persons, corporate beings, glorified or debased images of man.

This religious view is obviously that of anthropomorphism, a view which has dominated the human mind of Western Europe and Asia Minor throughout thousands of years, the exceptions notwithstanding. That it is still present in our Christian churches is evidenced by a recently published statement ascribed to a clergyman. The churchman allegedly stated that a certain kind of behavior is "enough to make God vomit out of his mouth," a rather nauseatingly clear index to contemporary anthropomorphism.

In Strindberg's works of the nineties and the early part of the present century, the battle between the freedom-seeking individual and the anthropomorphic powers is crucial. The manifestations of supernatural powers are very tangible. Moreover, the victory, often enough, seems to go to the corporate deity of the old era.

Anthropomorphism, a kind of religious, corporeal isolationism which could not comprehend spirit, had its counterpart in the cosmology of our predecessors. Through our readings in history, chiefly in the history of science, we have observed that cosmologies changed, usually painfully and slowly, in relation to the developments of astronomy. But the scientific concepts of the skygazers did not penetrate the consciousness of the majority of the people, including those in professional positions. The cosmology of the majority remained geocentric. To them the earth was obviously flat and located at the center of a universe immediately comprehended through the senses. The sun and moon moved around the earth; the firmament was the solid vault of heaven; the stars were arranged in a pattern on the firmament. The directions of up and down placed the earth at the center of the world; so too, north, south, east, west. The astronomic developments of the past few centuries had little more than a verbal influence on men's thinking. No matter how great the universe, it was apprehended as something within

human grasp. The gods, the stars, and the sun and moon were all gathered within the comfortingly close horizon of man's sensuously apprehended world.

Again, man's picture of himself was in harmony with his anthropomorphism and his provincial cosmology. He regarded himself as the *raison d'être* of all things; hence it was but natural for him to think that the entire universe was created as a proving ground where he might be individually prepared for eternal life. Indeed, man thought of himself as a fixed entity, an incarnate soul possessing an inborn sense of right and wrong plus a prescribed amount of intelligence. His body was derived from the dust of this earth, but the essential part of him was his immortal soul. Both, of course, were created by the deity. Man dwelt on this earth as a unit of corruptible flesh; yet in relation to the other world he was absolutely certain that he represented a unit of incorruptibility. While it was true that, on leaving his earthly domicile, man shed the mortality of the flesh, he nevertheless conceived of himself as a tangible unit almost identical with his earthly self. In his heaven he would wear a golden crown on his head, he would be arrayed in pure white robes to cover his nakedness, he would sing the praises of the deity, he would strum a harp with his fingers. And he would also have wings to enable him "to fly all over God's heaven." To all intents and purposes man was a mortal-immortal in both worlds.

The man of Strindberg's first era had long been conditioned to fixed ideas of authority, discipline, and obedience. Despite the prominence of the Virgin Mary and the occasional tendency of cult to elevate her to the prime position in the divine family, the Christian world has remained masculine. Moreover, the male has been the seat of authority, legal and extralegal, by divine fiat.

Let us first consider the authority of the male in the home. It is not an authority based on a superiority determined by fact and reason; it is simply an affirmed suzerainty of the male, supported unequivocally by Holy Writ. As a body has but one head, so the family has but one head. As the Father-Ruler of all men is definitely masculine, so the father-ruler of the earthly family is also masculine.

Into such a domestic institution most of our predecessors were born. And into such a family Strindberg was born. His father was the unquestioned head of the household. He governed his wife and his children arbitrarily by virtue of the authority implicit in his sex and his position. He was supported in his power by Church and State. What this kind of home meant to a sensitive child of the nineteenth century is clearly revealed in Strindberg's early autobiographical novels.

The old era was an age in which positions of authority were automatically assigned to the male. Positions in the State, the Church, the professions, and in business and industry were filled by men; and in the home the lowliest of all males was legally the master. In every case the position carried an authority assumed by those subject to it to be beyond question. It approached, if it did not attain, infallibility. The male was not only incarnate soul; he was the incarnate law. He was a terrestrial deity.

Discipline was thus a training to recognize men in positions of authority and to obey them unhesitatingly. It was a conditioning to respond automatically to king, priest, commander, owner, father, or their duly appointed representatives. It was decidedly the rule of men rather than the rule of laws. The female was excluded from positions of authority because she was assigned by divine command to a place of servitude. Disobedience was disloyalty, a rebelliousness toward divinely established sovereignty. Thus disobedience was *ipso facto* an offense to deity, a rebelliousness toward the Godhead itself.

Anthropomorphism, the primacy of the male, and provincial cosmology are reflected in practically all the activities of the past. Education, or formal training, was limited almost exclusively to the male offspring of people in important positions. Education as free inquiry to aid men to understand themselves and their world was all but non-existent. For the most part, knowledge meant eternal truths from which right actions and right thought could be deduced, and education consisted primarily of training in such knowledge. Thus morals were readily determined. Each individual was simply responsible for squaring his thoughts and actions with the eternal truths. All in all, the

old era is of one pattern, with dominant concepts and actions conditioning all the thoughts and behavior of men.

With a few lines we have now very sketchily limned the governing characteristics of the old era, into which Strindberg was born. The governing characteristics are found in absolutes, undebatable certainties, integral units, limited horizons, and the arbitrary rule of men in positions of authority. It is an era in which the world is conveniently small, and the retailed knowledge thereof a matter of crude sensuousness and diurnal necessity. It is, in many respects, still an age of rude civilization, for it was never moulded in the image of the men possessing the greatest wisdom.

The New Freedom

There had long been another element present in this first era, into which Strindberg was born: a sense of freedom and an awareness of it. An awareness of freedom inevitably brings about inquiry, and inquiry leads unerringly to a questioning of values. Amenhotep IV questioned the certainties of his day; so, too, Micah, Socrates, and many others. And those who questioned the established values of their day and brought their queries to the attention of their fellow men were reviled, stoned, driven into exile, imprisoned, given the cup of hemlock to drink, crucified, or otherwise summarily disposed of. Those who raised doubts about fixed values, long acclaimed to be absolute, almost invariably suffered at the hands of their fellow men, because, in this first era, the response to a limited, fixed, static, and bound world always dominated the apprehension of a limitless, uncharted, dynamic, and free world.

Actually, of course, the sense of freedom possessed such potentiality that it made changes possible long before they occurred. The long delay was occasioned by the fact that a society cannot be genuinely free until the men and women comprising the society are free. Thus there is something whole about freedom. And the fight for intellectual freedom was an integral part of the battles for the political freedom, religious freedom, and personal freedom of all men and women. Men were put into prison, they were tortured, they were driven out of their coun-

tries, they were put to death, but the sense of freedom did not perish. Indeed, within the last two centuries men have solemnly announced the fact of freedom—personal, political, religious, and intellectual. What we call the Industrial Revolution also got under way and constitutional governments asserted themselves, for the demand arose more and more clamorously for a government of law rather than of arbitrary men who insisted that they themselves were the incarnation of law.

Within these last two hundred years we have also had a promise of full-fledged freedom for some not too distant day. Most symbolically it appeared in the attempts to create a new era in a new geographical location: the American continent. With the United States of America, a nation of people at last consciously planned a co-operative venture in freedom. Yet this new era could not possibly come into being immediately; the men who tried to create it were still largely conditioned by habits of thought and action which precluded the probability of their recognizing that freedom for themselves meant freedom for all others. There had to be a general transmutation of values, that is, a successful substitution of a new conditioning for the old.

If the eighteenth century gave the new era its first vision of hope fulfilled, it was the nineteenth century that brought the conflict of the old and new into sharp focus. And it is the present century that has demonstrated to us how thorough is the collapse of the old values, a collapse already remarkably depicted in the dramatic literature of August Strindberg.

Strindberg was born in 1849, when the new freedom had already brought about clashes with the old absolutes. It was also a time when a new compulsion was beginning to condition the new freedom—the compulsion introduced by the growing economic interdependence of men. The Industrial Revolution, let us bear in mind, *was* a revolution! It brought about powerful and striking changes in our economy and hence in our habits of life. The economic changes, implementing, and implemented by, scientific discoveries, dealt the mortal blow to the old era through opening to many men a vista of freedom, although the ruins of the old era are still with us and so impressive that they convince some people that they are not ruins at all but a living structure,

imposing and commanding. Thus Strindberg was born at a time when the old conditioning was beginning to wear off, to lose its effect, even though men nominally clung to the old world. And he died before any considerable body of men awakened to the fact that the old era had lost its vitality. He is of great importance to us because he was in the vanguard of those who felt, if they did not fully understand, that men were moving toward a universal crisis involving all their actions and their habits of thinking. They were launching themselves on a co-operative venture in freedom.

The Collapse of Values

To note what has happened to established values we need only retrace our steps through the pattern of the old era. The anthropomorphism of the old era is still with us, as revealed by the clergyman's reference to "a vomiting deity," but this religious view has suffered severe and even devastating attacks from thinkers, churchmen, and religious movements. A few instances will suffice for our purposes. Consider first of all the biologist Pierre Lecomte du Noüy. Despite some popular versions of the religious concepts that he has promulgated, it is clear that this scientist has broken with the prime anthropomorphic ideas of the old era. Du Noüy's conclusions in biological science are commensurate with his conclusions pertaining to religion. The French scientist disposes not only of the carping atheist but also of the censorious, patriarchal deity. Moreover, he indicates that some ecclesiasts have broken with the old era when he quotes the following statement made by Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury: "It is a great mistake to suppose that God is only, or even chiefly, concerned with religion." Again, in some of our modern, institutionalized forms of Christianity we have a complete abandonment of anthropomorphism. In one denomination agnostics and atheists are welcome if they are sincere seekers of truth and righteousness. In another, the old solidity has disappeared into spirit so thoroughly that flesh apparently does not have any real existence, and the ailments that flesh is heir to are essentially nothing more than errors of mind.

The direct and indirect attacks on anthropomorphism have been sufficiently successful to influence many individuals despite their lack of reasoning about the problems involved. The spread of formal education in the nineteenth century, implemented in the New World by the idea that the truth would not only make us free but was necessary to keep us free, eventuated in the growth of free inquiry, making inevitable a clash with the anthropomorphism that had so long conditioned men's thinking and actions. The church leaders who feel that the education of great numbers of individuals (heretofore often called "the rabble" or "the masses") has been responsible for the decline of ecclesiastical authority are quite right. Free inquiry is not consonant with unquestioned obedience to men in positions of authority; such obedience not only deprives the individual of considered option but also places him in bondage by transferring responsibility to the person of authority. Free inquiry creates free agents. The individual moves towards maximum independence by virtue of the fact that he must question all authority in the attempt to determine values, because he is responsible for himself. The tortured path of Strindberg again appears before us: the free individual is his own scapegoat!

In education, then, the new freedom was passed, wittingly or otherwise, from a small clique of specially privileged people to an ever-widening circle of men and women. It brought with it free inquiry. Hence it occasioned the questioning not only of anthropomorphism as the dominant religious concept but also of the authority of men in ecclesiastical positions.

Something of the same kind has occurred in our cosmology. Four centuries ago Copernicus permitted European men to enter a world of tremendous space; yet the Ptolemaic world, or even the pre-Ptolemaic, conditioned the minds of our predecessors, for men had to live beyond Newton and encounter Einstein and Bohr before they could become partially oriented to the new concepts of the universe. Our comfortable directions of up and down, north and south, east and west, are meaningless in the universe at large. Even if the new telescope at Palomar can reveal astral bodies that are supposed to be a billion light years from the earth, that is, a little short of six sextillion miles

distant, we shall still be unable actually to grasp the nature and extent of space, so conditioned are we to geodetic measurements. The static world of limited directions and finite dimensions is disappearing; we are trying to comprehend a directionless universe of dynamic relations, and we feel very small, immature, and lost.

It is probably symptomatic of the new era that, as we appear to have lost our way in the immensity of space in our universe, so too we have lost a sense of direction in our social order. This is noticeable in the large, in the aggregation of sovereign nations; and in the small, in the home itself. Think of what has happened to the latter. The patriarchal form of the family has not only been challenged—women did that for centuries upon centuries—but it has been so weakened that it is doubtful if it will ever be resuscitated. The new freedom does not permit bondage, for freedom is whole; hence there can be no slavery of the female, regardless of the biblical subjection of woman to man. Thus, too, woman's sole place is not in the home; like man's place, it is everywhere that human beings live and act.

Those who think that the new freedom has broken up the home are quite right if by "home" they mean the male-dominated, durable domestic institution of the old era. The increase of divorce, the changing of monogamy to mean one legal, living mate at a time, the removal of penalties formerly imposed on women considered guilty of improper conduct, notably in matters pertaining to sex, the humanizing of women (previously held as chattels and in the Old Testament associated with property like the ox and the ass), the nineteenth amendment to the United States Constitution and similar changes in European countries—all these are evidences of a change of values as regards the domestic institution. The man has lost his position of arbitrary authority in the home. He is no longer the king in his castle; he is a co-partner in a domestic venture.

Here was a terrain on which Strindberg's *dramatis personae* fought repeatedly and desperately, for the battle of the sexes is exploited again and again. Time after time Strindberg challenged the emerging concept of the new era as regards the home, and, in his literary creations, one could well believe that he was

pointing to the old era as the one having the more significant value. Yet when he married—and remarried—he turned to a woman who could not possibly fit into a home dominated by an arbitrary, authoritarian male. His dramas may be considered as in part nostalgic in relation to the old but nevertheless persistently provocative in the presentation of a situational complex involving the old and the new. Somehow, the new home, created by free individuals engaged in a co-operative domestic venture, ought to succeed, despite the failures in Strindberg's personal experience. While apparently he himself could not invoke authority by virtue of his superior position as male (hence the head of the household), either because he did not care to do so or because he married the kind of woman who would brook no such attitude on the part of a husband, Strindberg trembled with apprehension at the loss of the old certainties associated with male primacy even as he trembled with excitement, also qualified by fear, at the possibilities of the new freedom.

Strindberg was not sure of himself. After all, what was he? Incarnate soul? Descendant of apes? An organic mechanism? Evolving *homo sapiens*, moral man? The nineteenth century offered various answers, but with the growth of biological science an overwhelming amount of evidence pointed to the animality of man. In truth, the incarnate soul could scarcely survive in the anatomical laboratory; the soul element became lost and virtually disappeared in the analytical and experimental studies of biology. Indeed, by the time that the twentieth century was well under way, the notion of fixed personality was evaporating. No longer did man have a definite sense of right and wrong ladled into his soul at conception; no longer did he have a specific intelligence quotient allotted to him. Man learned that personality is a complex of social and biological factors, that it can be greatly altered by environment, accident, illness, or the surgeon's scalpel.

Sigmund Freud, a few years younger than Strindberg, was working on the problem of the self through a scientific approach, but Strindberg—always remarkable for his intuitional powers—was independently giving a dramatic demonstration of the

problems that Freud was analyzing in the laboratory. The Swedish artist knew that man as a fixed entity, a dimensional incarnate soul, was disappearing; man as a psychological complex, perhaps even mystery, was beginning to emerge. Life might even be a dream play!

It makes little difference whither we turn—whether to science, art, religion, or social organization—the old values have suffered collapse. Almost everything of which man had previously been completely certain came to be questioned. The old feeling of confidence and security as regards the whys and wherefores of life, as regards man's actions and thinking, had been giving way gradually for centuries. Then, with the added push of the Age of Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, the growth of personal freedom, and the spread of formal education, the certainties slipped away. Various positive motivations of life lost their force, and even when men assured themselves that they clung to eternal verities, they still felt a constant, gnawing skepticism that gave no peace. As men were freed from the absolutes, they lost their sense of direction. Having been so confident of the rightness of their deductively formed ideas and actions, they suddenly felt utterly lost and alone. They were unprepared to rely fully on inductive procedures.

The New Compulsion

An ironic factor in the growth of the new freedom and the dissolution of old values is the threat of a new slavery. The spirit of free inquiry operating in the new freedom brought us increased knowledge of man and his universe, and this knowledge stimulated man's inventiveness. Thus it has happened that, during the last two centuries, there has been an almost miraculous growth in the scientific instruments and gadgets that man has made for himself. These tools have contributed to the possibility of the oft-dreamed utopian age of abundance for all men, but they have also created an economic interdependence that would have appalled our ancestors, even as it frightens some of our contemporaries. Paradoxical as it may seem when superficially regarded, the very instruments which have been created through an enterprise that has been more free than

controlled have led to an era in which enterprise is of necessity becoming more controlled than free. Nature once provided periods of abundance and of dearth through the accidents of good harvests and poor, the ancient feast-and-famine cycles. But man has now added to the natural cycles, while controlling them to some extent, because he has created alternating periods of prosperity and depression. The expanding economy is inescapably a spending economy, and it continues to thrive or to grow extensively and intensively only as it is supported by consumers, that is, by spending. Moreover, we have passed from the independence of the isolationist feudal town to the interdependence of nations as well as of the communities within each nation. We cannot, for example, permit our coal mines long to remain idle or our systems of transportation to cease operation, because masses of individuals are dependent for survival on the continuity of such services. We are, in effect, already on the threshold of conscription of additional departments of both capital and labor, and some nations have crossed the threshold. The development of local, federal, and international controls of the movements and labor of men is thus not a matter of ideology (socialism, communism, industrial democracy, and the like); it is a consequence of the actions which we and our predecessors have taken. We have literally made ourselves so dependent on one another economically that we do not dare trust the arbitrary power of any individual or clique. If the coal miners should decide that they had had enough of their extremely hazardous employment and should quit once and for all time, we could not allow them the freedom to do so; we would have to conscript them for service at least until we could train competent replacements. If the mine owners decided to close the mines, we again could not permit them to do so; we should be compelled to seize the mines so as to keep them in continuous operation. The shadows of a new bondage are thus already upon us, and power-hungry individuals and cliques are always awaiting pretexts to take over full controls and rob us of all initiative and freedom. The idea of the good life as a co-operative venture in freedom does not appeal to those who are strongly conditioned to the old absolutes which provide rule by arbitrary men in positions of authority.

The pattern of interdependence has thus awakened new fears in men—fear of conscription to routines with loss of freedom in choice of occupation, in education, in movement about the world, in all phases of self-determination; fear of being left outside the spending economy so necessary to survival; fear that life itself will essentially become meaningless. There is, indeed, a fear that man may lose that for which so many fought and so many suffered and died—his personal freedom. And fear, we must bear in mind, almost invariably affects man's reason.

Let us make no mistake about the character of this new compulsion. On the one hand, it is not at all a matter of ideology; on the other, it is not a matter of determinism. It is a direct consequence of our own actions and those of our predecessors. It is thus something alterable and controllable.

The Significance of Strindberg

The man who can see what no one else can see is either a madman or a genius. Many of Strindberg's contemporaries, and even successors, decided that he was a madman. We, however, are in a position to realize that he was unquestionably a literary genius of first rank. Like the prophets of old, he was an interpreter of the world in which he lived.

Through this very brief study of two eras, the reader of Strindberg should see clearly the conflicts in which the author and his characters were intimately engaged. Note that Goethe, who was born exactly a century before Strindberg, could still create a Faust, a character that, no matter how tortuous the way, could move toward ultimate triumph. But Strindberg, who died eighty years after the death of Goethe, created for his great character of the *To Damascus* trilogy a figure called the Unknown, a creature unknown to himself as well as to others, a creature whose struggles for freedom, for enlightenment, for goodness, brought confusion rather than positive answers. The Unknown has lost all sense of direction; no one can tell him what to do or where to go. He cannot go back to the former absolutes because they have lost their values; he cannot go forward to new convictions, because he only dimly apprehends their presence and cannot find them. Hence the fearful wanderings, the disillusioning activities, the collapse of values. There is nothing

for the Unknown to do but to resign himself to the situation. Yet even his resignation is not a matter that brings conviction; it is a formality rather than a spiritual actuality.

If we understand what has been happening to us, we are in a position to understand Strindberg. He need no longer be considered an enigma, for he is a symbol of modern, uncertain, groping, frustrated man, a creature almost unknown to himself and to his neighbor, a creature marked by fear and great anxiety. Strindberg went through his mental turmoil at the close of the nineteenth century; and now, in the middle of the twentieth century, statesmen, religious leaders, educators, publicists, and others are revealing their inability to offer directions that are recognizably valid. As so often happens, men who have sought positions of leadership or who have had these thrust upon them, are unable to offer competent assistance. It is no secret that they too are frustrated. Like the *dramatis personae* of Strindberg's plays they wander about aimlessly or they vainly point to something that now lies behind us.

Because the old day has not yet fully gone nor the new day clearly dawned, we are cousins-german with August Strindberg. Like him we have lost our *points d'appui*; we are gravely perplexed, confused, frustrated. At times, we would like to give up, to take refuge in the limitations of one of the old formulas; or we would like to fling aside all the mind-tasking cares and join those frenziedly moronizing themselves in sheer, physical pleasures, or in activities which permit no time for contemplation. But we cannot resign ourselves to that which we know to be inadequate, we cannot yield to despair, we cannot stoop to self-stultification. We must still march with Strindberg along the great highway of life—*stora landsvägen*—as free men seeking for the way in which we can live and realize ourselves.

It is my considered opinion that, if we try to comprehend what our elders were and also what we are becoming, we shall have no difficulty in understanding Strindberg, both as regards his life and his literary production. The sense of bafflement will disappear, and appreciation of genius will grow.

FORMALLY INDEFINITE BUT PSYCHOLOGICALLY DEFINITE PLACE NAMES IN AURLAND, SOGN, NORWAY

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THE names here considered are such as have one of the following words as the main theme (they will be discussed in the order as here listed): *hall*, m., 'hazebush'; *kall*, and *kalle*, m., 'giant's kettle,' 'deep mountain-side ravine'; *skalle*, m., 'skull'; *jøkul*, m., 'icicle'; *hjell*, m., 'shelf'; *bell*, m., 'tongue or clapper of a bell'; *koll*, m., 'top, round mountain top, knoll,' 'head of hair'; *krull*, m., 'curl'; *pall*, m., 'raised floor, level elevation in the terrain'; *apall*, m., 'apple tree'; *voll*, m., 'greensward, meadow'; *beitel*, m., 'chisel'; *sætel*, m., 'settle, seat'; *støl*, m., 'mountain dairy, sæter'; *botn*, m., 'bottom'; *bjørn*, m., 'bear'; *brunn*, m., 'spring, well'; *raun*, m., 'rowan tree, mountain ash'; *mann*, m., 'man'; *ovn*, m., 'oven'; *kafflein*, m., 'ship's captain'; and *stein*, m., 'stone.'¹

In each heading below, the key word represents the dial. pron. of the word, given above in the standard form, and this will be followed by the ON form if the word is native. The accent will generally be indicated by the mark ' for simple accent and by ' for cpd. accent. Farm names and geographical names occurring in the discussion will usually be written in their standard or official form;² local names connected with the matter

¹ Abbreviations. The usual ones of grammatical terms; and the following: cpd.(s) = compound(s); dial. = dialect, dialectal; diall. = dialects; mdn. = modern; occ.(s) = occurrence(s); pl. n.(ns) = place name(s); plur. = plural; pron. = pronounce(d), pron(s). = pronunciation(s); and Underdalen E. = the part of the parish east of the Aurlandsfjord, and Vangen W. = the part of the parish west of the fjord. Further:

NO = Aasen: *Norsk Ordbog*, 1873, and Ross: *Norsk Ordbog*, 1895, and later *Tillæg*; NRO = *Norsk Riksmålsordbok*. 1930-, I, and II, 1-7; *MogM.* = *Maal og Minne*, Oslo; *Matrikel* = *Norges Matrikel*. Aurland herred. 1907; *Sognem.* = *Sognemålene*, Av Amund B. Larsen, II, 1926; *Bj. K.* = *Björgynjar Kálfskinn*. Edidit Annotationibusque illustravit P. A. Munch. MDCCCLIII; *Tank* = *Ymse arkivuppteikningar um Aurland*. Av arkivkonsulent Tank. 1930.

² I use the local form in the following names: Laui (not Loven or Laaen); Sinnjarheim (not Sønjarheim); Øfistebo (not Østerbo); Dalbottn (not Dalsbotn);

under discussion will be written as locally pronounced.

HATT''L; ON *hasl*. This term is found as the final part in cpds. five times. It occurs once at Hylland in Nærøyna as the name of a hayfield, where formerly there were hazelbushes; and once at Ramsøy as the name of a hollow. In both cases the name is *Hatt''l*, def. in meaning and standing for *Hatt''ln*. Elsewhere in Aurland the form is *Hatt''ln*, as at Øyo, a woodland meadow, and at Bell, as the name of a hazelbush and of a stone, and again for a piece of ground at one Kvamm farm, while at another Kvamm farm the name was pron. *Hatt'len*. *Hattlen* was also the pron., at Midge, of a meadow and woodland area. These five are all in Vangen. The reintroduction of the *e* of the article ending in the examples above represents a change to the standard form; but at the same time it seems to be due to the desire to avoid the triple cons. combination.

KATT''L, and *KATTLE*; ON *ketill* (Goth. **katils*), nom., acc., gen. plur.: *katlar*—*kalla*—*kalla*; and dat. sg. *kalli*. In Aurland pl. ns. today the word rarely stands for 'kettle.' But it must be assumed that originally in these cases the term was the name of a giant's kettle above or at the side of the feature that now is called by this term. When it is the name of such a kettle in more or less level terrain in the highlands, or elsewhere, the term may remain as a designation for a giant's kettle; but even here it is now mostly called *kjil* or *gryla* (but see below). However, as the name of a mountain-side cleft, ravine, or deep fissure, we often find it employed, though several other terms are also used. I shall speak first of one of the latter kind, viz., *Hûng'ærshqljýttaû*, because this seems to me to be as typical a case as can be found; it is also an excellent example of how an original giant's kettle came to be called *kall* and *kalle*. It is sometimes called *Hûng'ræhqljýttaû*, and *Hûng'ærshqlslýkkjaû*. Its upper part lies just below the Ljoren knoll near the site of the old Kringle sæter in Flåm. On a climb with a guide to the 'jytta' and the sæter on July 27, 1930, I had the opportunity to study somewhat its shape at the top. It seemed to me about 18 feet across. On

Berrevamm (not Berekvam); Vassbyggdi (not Vassbygden); Kvamm (not Kvam); Tuffto (not Tufte); Drægo (not Drege); and -o in all other dat. plur. names, such as: Bjørge, Hjøllo, Holo, Ryo, Tæro, and Øyo.

the upper side about one third of the smooth-rounded inside of the kettle is seen; the rest is destroyed,³ and the hole continues as a long, deep, jagged ravine in the rock and earth of the mountain side for perhaps a thousand feet, with a rivulet coursing down on its rough bed. The original giant's kettle was situated a little below the precipice of the mountain, something that helps to make it a true 'kattl.' On the use of the terms *jytta* and *slykkja* see below.

At Tunshelle there is a somewhat similar place, but with the round, inside wall of a giant's kettle better preserved; this is called *Katt'l*. It is situated high up in the mountain on the right side of a cross-river (*Tværelvi*); the river runs down close by the farm house. One reaches the kettle from the right side of the river.⁴ At Brekke there are three giant kettles, which together are called *Sto^rrsqorkatlad'n*, or *Katlad'n* for short. One of these is high up, a little to the right of a goats' path that leads to *Sto^r'skori*; it is called *Jerrt'akatt'ln*. Part 1 here is from *Gjert*, pers. n., a cottar who once upon a time cut the hay during the summer at *Skutaskqri* high up on a grassy terrace on the three-part land projection called *Skuten* (*Skut'n*), which runs clear up to *Jerrtakatt'ln*. The second kettle is called *Sto^r'rakatt'ln*, or also *Taig'akatt'ln* after a cottar's place, *Teigen*. The third is *Vettlekatt'ln*. The cottar, Gamle Taigen, cut the hay and wood in the two 'kettles.'

The words *jytta* and *slykkja* are extensively used in Flåm, words which hardly appear at all elsewhere in Aurland. These two words, and the word *jil*, are sometimes used for mountain-side clefts which are of the 'katl' type, as *Vettl'enneslykkjaû*, *Neutaskqrslykkjaû*, *Brænd'ejilsjyttaû*, and *Røndsjiå*, also called *Jaissmejå*, besides *Hångershøljyttaû* (see above).

In Nærøyna the term *kall* is not used; the word *jil* (*gil*, n.) serves the purpose in the name *Trollsjilå* near the Leikanger border. Cf. also *Jaisskalijå* near Drægali; in *Sto^rrskribøtt'n*, between Bakka and Gudvangen, a 'katl'-formation, the word

³ When we had reached *Hångershøljyttaû* and were standing on its brink, my companion exclaimed: "stor, stygg, djup, farleg."

⁴ I am indebted to Anders O. Brekke for this fact about the Tunshelle 'katt'l.'

bøtt'n is used. In Underdalen the word *jýtta* is employed for 'katl' in the name *Blomjýttaú*. The word *slykkja* is used, but does not appear in any place names. The word 'katl' is also employed, but in a transferred sense. It appears once for the rocky ridge in the highlands north of Syrdal sæter. From Syrdal an old bears' path called *Bjønnsstigen* leads to the top of Katt'l; the rivulet *Katt'lagro'i* rises near the northern end of Katt'l. A terrace under the cliff, where grass is cut for hay, is called *Katllaskøri*; on top of Katt'l there is a signal rock named *Varahøll'n*. Again at Niberge *Vølløskatt'l* and *Slo'røskatt'l* are the names of two ridges and of the two rivulets at the sides.

Such a transfer in meaning of the term 'katl' is not very different from that frequently met with in other pl. ns. The fields of a farm and the numerous natural features that have received names have a definite place in the economy of a farm. Names of features that have ceased to have any practical importance in this respect either disappear or become attached to some near-by feature or place that *has* practical importance. The name *Klant'n* ('Cliff's Edge') at Inderli is now used for a near-by pasture. In S. Vangen *Vøi*, first meaning 'Places where one can wade across,' was transferred to the small rivers themselves, then changed again, and now is the name of the pasture grounds between, and on either side of, the rivers.

I shall now turn to Vangen Parish. Here mountain clefts of the 'katl' type are the following. Across Aurlandsfjorden, i.e., in Vangen W., are *Jerr'lakatt'ln* and *Prøss'lakatt'ln*; they are a short distance 'out from,' that is, north of Højdalsjile; next, near Kvamm in Vangen proper, there is a big and long fissure in the terrain which begins at the sea (i.e., Aurlandsfjorden here) and leads clear up into the mountain above Kvamm. It forms the dividing line between Kvamm and Høydal. It has usually been called *Bøllsjile*, taking its name from the Kvamm sub-farm *Bell*. In my list of names, gathered in this region mostly in 1926, it has the name *Bøllsjile*, as given me by the owner of the Bell farm. Another name used is *Demmejile*, and more recently the name *Bøllskatt'ln* has come to be used.⁵ Again, in Vassbygdi

⁵ The two names in this sentence have been given me by Anders O. Onstad, as likewise the information about 'katl'-clefts at Teigen and Berrkvamm sæters.

there are a number at All'men, a Steine sæter. Collectively these are called *All'mekattlad'n*; some individual names are: *Lø'aing-katt'ln*, *Lang'ehaugkatt'ln*, *Jai'taskorkatt'ln*, and *Allmejile*. Beyond this, at the sæter Teigen, there are several, as also still farther on, at the sæter Berkvamm. At the old Sinnjarheim farm we have *Kallvasvælljen*, *Blomstiggjyttaû*, and *Kraûkejile*; and finally at Steine: *Kattlad'n*, which seems to be the collective name for *Blomjile* and *Trøggajile*. A case of transfer of the meaning of the term seems to have taken place in Berdalen, S. Vangen, where *Berdalsvatne* and *Katllavatne* appear as names of the same lake; hence here *Berdalsklaivi* has also been called *Berdalskatt'ln*.

The words employed for a giant's kettle in Aurland are *kjil* and *grysta*, rarely *kalle*. The cpd. words used are *jæt'tegr^hyta*, *trøll'gr^hyta*, *trøllskjil*, and *jygg'ragr^hyta*. Examples of simplex forms are: *Kjil*, in the Midge highlands, a large giant's kettle; *Gr^hyta*, near the river at Drydal, and *Gr^hyta* at Sinnjarheim. Cpd. forms are: *Jættegr^hytad'n*, near Qiad'n sæter, Flâm; *Ljo^ut'-shqlad'n*, several giant's kettles in a woodland area of Dalbotten; and three such kettles between Hokjen and Brekke, which locally are called *Jættegr^hytad'n* or also *Sto^rrskørkattlad'n* (see above). There is a remnant of about half of a giant's kettle just back of the Fretteim Hotel in Flâm; when the road to the rear of the hotel was built, this kettle was in part blasted out. This kettle may have been about 12 feet wide.

In a document entitled "Opskrift af Forligelseskommisjonen over Urlands Præstegjæld, 1826," there is mentioned a *Katlefossen*. This name does not appear today; but there are a *Haraj^uufoss'n* and a *Haraj^uuslykkjaû*. If *Katlefossen* be the same as today's *Haraj^uufoss'n*, then the former name of the present *Haraj^uuslykkjaû* would have been *Harajukatlen*. At any rate, the occ. of the name *Katlefossen* in the 1826 document suggests that the term 'katl' was used more in Flâm a century or so ago, and that the extensive employment of the term *slykkja* is something that has come about during the last century.

The process by which the two forms *kalle* and *kall* arose may

Also, I learn from him that in more recent years there is a tendency to use the word *kall* more than formerly, sometimes for what was earlier called *gjel* (*jil*).

have been something like the following. ON *kallar*, plur., having become *kaila*, a new sg. *kalle* was deduced from this, which in fact was already in existence in the dative singular *kalle*. While the word for the ordinary kettle was *ketill*, *kjetil*, the new form *kalle* was used for the giant kettles of the mountains. These forms arose in exactly the same way as have those of ON *fetill*, m., 'shoulder strap,' plur. *fallar*, dat. sg., *falle*; the Aurl. form today is *fatt'l*, n., in other localities sometimes *falle*. In Aurl. the form *falle* preceded the present form *fatt'l*, but has now disappeared, just as the form *kalle* has almost disappeared in Aurland. The short form *kall* arose from *katt'ln*, the def. sg. of *kalle*. (Cf. *Hatt'l*, def. *Hatt'ln*.)

SKADD'LE; ON *skalli*. The term appears in six names in Aurland. In cpds. it is found only in the name *Laiskadd'l* (part 1: *leir* 'clay') for an elevation in the terrain, as at Dyrdal, and again at Bakka, both in Nærøyna, and similarly at Holo in Flåm. The name is psychologically def., the article -*n* having been dropped in the combination -*dl**n*. The formally def. simplex *Skadd'ln* is the name of a broad, sloping wall high up on the mountain *Hest* ('Horse') at Brekke; the top of the mountain is called *Hestnåsi*. At Fretteim a somewhat similar feature is also called *Skadd'ln*. At Sinnjarheim *Skadd'ln* is the name of a small field. With the form *skaddle*—*skadd'l* cf. *kattle*—*katt'l*, above.⁶

JUK'əD'L; ON *jökull*. The word occurs in a number of cpd. names having the word *kjyr* 'cow,' ON *kýr*, or the term *seu* 'sheep,' ON *sauðr*, as the first part. In the former case the prevailing pron. is *kjýr*'*júkəð'l*. Part 1 is rarely pron. *kjyr*; only once did I find it pron. *kj'yr*; the *ʸ* was sometimes raised and widened to *ø*, hence *kjør*-. In these names the word -*júkəð'l* stands for a large hanging icicle (or icicles) high up on a mountain. The progressive melting away of the icicle until it falls becomes a sign of the progress of the season at the sæter, namely so that when the icicle has fallen it means that the time has

⁶ In *Sognem*, p. 387, *skad'l* appears as def. in Sogndal, and for Leikanger both *skad'l* and *skad'lə* appear as indef., with the def. form as: *skad'l* and *skad'l*. The column for Aurland is blank opposite this word; elsewhere there are variant forms.

come when the cows can be brought to the sæter pastures, for the growth of the grass on these pastures is then far enough along so that the cows can feed themselves there. All this is expressed in the term *kjýrjúkæd'l*. There are certain more or less fixed expressions used regarding the sign of the hanging icicles. One said: "*Q* naúr dann júkæd'l so hainnjê dar gaúr vekk so ska baisti liva"; another said: "Naúr dann júkæd'l æ rammla ni daú live kjýdd'n"; and again: "Naúr dann æ teina ska krýtttri liva,—gráia sê sjóllê"; and: "Naúr dann jøkæd'l dêtte ni so æ kjýdd'n frammfýddê." Here *frammfýdd* (or *frammfódd*) means: 'fed at home through the winter' (*scil.*, 'and from now on they are to feed themselves on the sæter grounds'). Some of the occs. of the name are: *Kjýrjokæ'ln*, or *Kjýrjokælberrijê*, at Brekke; *Kjýrjokæd'l* and *Kjýrjokæd'l*, at Styvi; *Kjýrjúkæln* and *Kjýrjúkæd'ln*, at Kvamm. At Tæro the def. plur. name *Kjýrjúkæklad'n* occurs; and at Hylland the forms *Kjýrjokæd'l*, *Kjýrjúkæd'ln*, and *Kjý'yrjúkæln* were all heard. The name *Sêuajókæd'l* appears at Nedberge, and *Sêuajúkæln* at Underdal.

JÊDD'L; ON *hjallr*. There are numerous occs., as *To'r'-aldjêdd'l*, not far from Holmen sæter, Vangen; *Niss'lejêdd'l*, *Midd'jêdd'l*, and *Øpp'stêjêdd'l* near Nâsi sæter; all three together are also called *Jêddlêd'n*. From this plur. form the mountain *Jêdd'lanâsi* took its name, and from this in turn the sæter *Nâsi* got its name. These are all names of shelves, ledges, and terraces in the terrain; similarly, there is *Jêddlêd'n* in Stønndalen, and the same plur. in Øfstøbø. At Breisnes *Kjôr'êjêdd'ln*, also pron. *Kjôr'êjêddlen*, is the name of a tar kiln (part 1 is ON *tjara*, f., 'tar,' gsg. *tjêru*). In an official document of the year 1841 dealing with Tæro properties, the name *Tjêregielden* appears. This may represent an earlier local form *Kjôr'êjêdd'l*, or the form *Kjôr'êjêdd'ln*. At present the name is *Kjôr'êjêddlêd'n*.

BÊDD'L; ON *bôllr*, m., 'ball, bullet,' dat. *belli*, plur. *bellir*, ON variant, *bjôllr*. *Bêdd'l* (official name *Bell*) is the name of a farm in Vassbyggdi. In *Bj. K.*, p. 47, the name appears as 'J Belle'; this dat. form (pron. *Bêddlê*) has also been used in mdn. times, and *Norges Matrikel*, 1907, still has the form *Belle*, with the note that the name has also been written 'Belde' and 'Bjelde.' The dwelling and other buildings of Bell stand on a

long and rather narrow flat elevation, the front of which rises abruptly from the walk and the road. The name is psychologically indefinite.

There is also a farm of recent origin by the name Bell (pron. *Bēdd'l*). It is a Kvamm sub-farm lying in the foothills of the mountain, and considerably above the old Kvamm farm-steads. In the *Matrikel* the farm is given as unit no. 9 of Kvamm. Here also the name *Bēdd'l* is psychologically indefinite.

The variant form (ON *bjellr*, see above) is also in use in Aurland. Aasen does not have the word; Ross cites a form as appearing in Toten, E. Norway. The word appears in several pl. ns. in Aurland, as *Ýss'tēbjēdd'l* and *Haim'stēbjēdd'l*, at Steine—the two together are sometimes called *Bjēddlad'n*. There is further the name *Ain'ēbjēdd'l* (part 1: ON *eini*, n., 'juniper'); it is the name of a level place in a declivity at Bell in Kvamm; and finally the term appears in *Allbjēddlad'n*, a level meadow at Laui. For the change of *e* to *ø*, as here, cf. the name *Graūsjēddlād'n* (part 2: ON *skella*, v., 'make a loud sound') and the name *Kjýllvaū* (ON *kefli*, m., 'roller'), a meadow at Berkvamm sæter. The def. simplex form *Bjēdd'ln* appears as the name of a meadow at Bell, Vassbyggdi, and as the name of a field at Sinnjarheim; here it was pron. *Bjēdd'læn*. On the mdn. use of the word 'bell' see above. It has been noted in the foregoing that the old farm name Bell, Belle, has also been written Bjelde; this was an inaccurate official writing of the name Bjelle, pron. *Bjēddlē*. Therefore, the farm name Bell, Belle, has also sometimes formerly been pron. *Bjēddlē*, i.e., with the variant form, ON *bjellr*.

KQDD'L; ON *køllr* 'skull, top, round top of a tree or of a mountain.' In pl. ns. the term occurs in *Harkqdd'l*, a knoll at Ytterbø; and in *Holt'akqdd'l*, a stony elevation at Horten, Underdalen, E.

KRÜDD'L. NO. and NRO: *krull*, m., 'curl, cluster'; cf. the expression "Addlē h'usi sto" i ain krüdd'l." The word is borrowed from MDu. *crulle*, m. Cf. ME *crull*, adj., and Mdn. Engl. *curl*; the Aurl. adj., is *krüddlēte*. There is one pl. n., *Qss'pākrüdd'l*, a small grove of aspen at Haugen, Flåm. As part 1 in cpds. the sg. *qsp*+connecting vowel *-e*, as in *qsspævi*, *qsspætro'a*

(*tro*^a 'pole'), has been generalized. The plur. of *qsp*, f., in Aurl. is *qsspe*.

PADD'L; ON *pallr* 'raised floor along the wall of a room; bench along a wall.' At Stigen a flat elevation in the terrain has the name *Padd*'l, similarly at Holo. *Paddlad*'n at Inderli is a name for some small, bare patches on a hill.

A'PAD'L; Norw. dial. *apall*, *apal*, etc.; ON *apaldr* (OE *apulder*) is a variant form. Pl. n.: *A'paljaili* (*geil*, f., 'enclosed lane') is the name of an apple tree and of a lane fenced in on both sides, back of the store at Flåm. The upper end of the lane where the tree stands is sometimes called *A'pad*'l. At Nedberge *App*'-*lad*'n is the name of a piece of ground.

VQDD'L; ON *vøllr*, m., nom. plur. *vellir*, acc. plur. *vøllu*. There are about 60 occs. of the word in the pl. ns. In Nærøyna the names are: *Aukk*'*røvødd*'l, *Danns*'*øvødd*'l, and *Stad*'*lvødd*'l (part 1 here is *stall* 'stable,' ON *stallr*). In Underdalen there are: *Grøn*'*øvødd*'l and *Sm*'*ieøvødd*'l, and at Nedberge, *Jeitt*'*ravødd*'l (also pron. *Jeit*'*ravødd*'l). Here part 1 could be *gjella* 'watching, shepherding' (<*gjetsla*, *gjeisla*, ON *gæzla*); the name then would mean 'The meadow where sheep or cattle are shepherded,' assuming here the element *-la* > *-ra* by dissimilation. On the other hand, the pron. *Jeittra*- would rather suggest ON *geilla*, f., 'young goat,' hence the compound would mean 'Meadow where the young goats are often seen standing together.' This is the more likely meaning.

In Vangen there are 28 names in *-d*'l; two have *-len*; *Fjys*-*vøddløn* in Lauvi, and *P**ilavøddløn* at Skaim. Examples with *-d*'l; *Laikarvødd*'l 'a playground,' *Mjel*'*kjevødd*'l 'a milking-place'; *Neussvødd*'l (*naust* 'boat house'; there was once a boat house nearby); and *Kro*'*tøvødd*'l (*kro*^u*ta*, v., 'apply decorative scrolls on the uppers of shoes' [the tool used in this process was called *Kro*^u*tøstømmpe*'l], also 'decorate, adorn'; *kro*^u*t*, n., 'decorative figure'). The part *kro*^u*tø* seems to be the noun *kro*^u*t*, with connecting *e*, here used for things that beautify the meadow, such as a planting of trees. In the name *Jønng*'*arvødd*'l, a meadow at Midge, part 1 would seem to be *jønng*e (pron. *jøn*ⁿ*jə*), m., 'table knife.' If this is correct, the gsg. ending *-ar*

for the expected *-a* may have been used for the purpose of protecting the *-a-* in a gsg. form. Variant forms with gsg. in *-a* or *-ar* often occur in the names: *sj̃a—sj̃ar*; *sko^uga—sko^ugar*, etc. Names with the article are: *Sto^ur'ævqdd'ln* at Steine, and *Røgg-naldvqdd'ln* at Tæro. The plur. is *-væddlæd'n*, sometimes *-voddlad'n*, once *-vqddlæd'n*.

In Flåm there are 21 occs. with *-dl*, among them: *Dannse-vqdd'l*; *So^ulaivqdd'l*, a meadow of daisies; *Kl^uypævqdd'l*, the old road at Tunshelle, which was very narrow, with high ground on both sides; *Litt'vqdd'l* (*litt'æ*, adj., 'pleasant'); *Apalvqdd'l* at Fret-teim, which in an official document of 1831 is recorded as *Apal-volden*; and finally *Yllpævqdd'l*, a meadow near *Yllpau*, a former dancing green and playground, where the young people of the Flåm neighborhood would gather summer evenings for games and dancing. The 'neighborhood' in this case was, before the re-parcelling of the fields and meadows in Flåm ca. 85 years ago, a compact cluster of homes around *Yllpau*. The name is difficult. Since we have nothing to go on with *-ylp*, we shall have to try *ylf*. In Aurland *evla*, v., 'exert oneself' could give *ylva* (as *kjevla* 'roller' becomes *kjyllva* in a pl. n., see above). But we might better refer the element *-ylv* to ON *ylfast* (also *yfast*) 'to strut.' If we may assume that what we have in *ylpa* is a hybrid v., from *ylva* and *yppa*, *yppast* 'letta seg upp, briska seg,' we would have a v. *ylpa*, which could well have been used of the dancers on the green, in the meaning 'to hop around briskly in the games and the dance.' In this way, perhaps, the activities carried on so much at the place could have led to the use of the name *Ylpau*. It is no doubt an old name, in existence hundreds of years before the re-parcelling period. In the name *Yllpævodd'l* the part *Yllpæ-* is, of course, gsg.⁷ There is in Flåm one cpd. in *-d'ln*; *Auraũkervqdd'ln*; the simplex name *Vqdd'l* appears twice, and *Vqdd'ln* once.

BAIT'EL. The word does not seem to be recorded in ON, but is widely used in Norw. dialects; borrowed from MDu. *beitel*. It appears in one pl. n.: *Bait'eln*, a mountain at the

⁷ For the facts about *Ylpau* as a playground and dancing green before 'Utskjiftingi' I am indebted mostly to Ole E. Flåm at Frammigarn. On the basis of that important fact I have tried to solve the riddle of the names *Yllpau* and *Yllpævqdd'ln*.

point where the Nærefjord meets the Aurlandsfjord. Its chisel-like edge slopes evenly and rather sharply from the top clear down into the water, and this edge marks the border line between Styvi and Stigen, hence also between Nærøyna and Underdalen parishes. The general area around Baiteln is called *Baitt'lad'n*, a plur. regional name. Two grassy terraces, cut for hay, in a ridge on the Styvi side of Baiteln are called *Sto'rabaitllaû* and *Vett'labaitllaû*.

SÆTEL, and *SÆT'ED'L*. While the term *sæt*, ON *sati*, is in general use, the word *satel* does not seem to occur in ON or in the Norw. diall. today. However, Ross lists the word *setol* for Gbr., in the meaning "Tofte i en Baad." *Satel* is probably a borrowing from MDu. *zetel* 'seat.' We should compare, however, OE *sell*, *seotul*, *seotol*, which may very well be the source of the Gbr. word. In the pl. ns. *satel* occurs once: in the form *Sætéd'l* it is a resting place on a sæter climb at Brekke.

STØL, and *STØD'L*; ON *støðull* 'a milking place at a sæter.' With the loss of the *ð* the resulting *stquill* gave *stqell*, *stqəd'l*, *stþd'l*. But the acc. ON *stqðul* gave the present form *stþl*. This difference ceased to exist long ago, however, and the most frequently appearing form became rather generalized. Aasen does not record any form with *-dl*; Ross adds *stþdl* as used in Rog., Ryf., Shl., Hall., and ØTel. In Aurland one says *stþl'n* or *stþd'l* for the def., occasionally *stþd'ln*, as in *Bq'tqlstþd'ln* and *Tott'landstþd'ln*, both in Vangen, but here also *Bqtqlstþln*, *Bqtqlstþd'l*, and *Tottlandstþln*. The form *stþd'l* ("Mę da sama d'u sir stþd'l"; "Da æ sko^ggataig ti stþd'l"; "Gręnnsaû myddlû haimęn q stþd'l") is about as common as *stþln*. In Flåm there are these occs.: *Ljo'rastþln*, *U'jirsdalsstþln*, *Niss'testþln*, *Nau'lastþd'l*, *Qi'a-stþd'l*, *Vett'lestþd'l* (two occs.), *N'y'æstþd'l*, and *Yvv'rastþdl*. And in Vangen, besides those mentioned above, are: *Nås'a-stþln*, *Vettlestþln*, and nine with *-d'l*; *Sęnavastþd'l*, *Ai'lestþd'l* (*Eilev*, pers. name), *N'oy'æstþd'l*, etc. At Breisnes there is one: *Pærstþln*. In Nærøyna: *To'ri(s)stþd'l* or *To'ri(s)stþln*; at Horten, Underdalen E.: *Vaûrstþd'l*.⁸

The underlying principle operating in most of the kinds of

⁸ According to Per Hovda, *MogM.*, 1944, pp. 23 and 29, the form in *-d'l* would seem to be universal in Austre-Ryfylke—words there given with *-d'l* in both indef. and def. are: *skalle*, *stþl*, and *voll*.

names discussed above is that the cons. sequence *dln* is reduced to *dl*, hence names in *-dl* assume identical def. and indef. forms. Among the cpd. names those in *-bjell* (*-bjøll*), *-koll*, *-skalle*, *-krull*, *-pall*, and *-voll* (*-bjedl*, *-kødl*, etc.) show reduction in nearly all instances; of those in *-vødl* there are 50, of which 46 assume the form *-dl*, two have *-d'ln*, and two *-dlen* (see above); the others are, however, of but limited occ. in cpds. On the other hand, in the themes *jil*, *jukell*, and *støll*, the reduction is much less general, and a reduction to *-ln* is of about equal importance.

BQTT'N; ON *botn*, m., 'bottom'; also 'the interior of a fjord or a valley.' In Aurl. the word is employed in the usual ways, and further, for the interior part of a valley as reckoned from the sea, or from the entrance to the valley, or again, it may be used for the location of a particular place on the farm as reckoned from the site of the dwelling-stead of the farm. In pl. ns. the word *bøtt'n* carries no implication of lowness of terrain: e.g., at Åtrenes *Jo^aasølbøtt'n* lies high up in the mountain, and at Holo *Ho^ala-bøtt'n* is close up near the mountain Roaldshovden in the remotest part of Holo property in that direction.

The word *bøtt'n* occurs in ca. 80 names: 9 in Nærøyna, 7 in Underdalen, 14 in Flåm, and about 50 in Vangen. A few of these are as follows. In extreme S. Vangen, near the Hallingdal border, there is a sæter named *Vesst'afybøtt'n*. As the local pron. this should be correct. *Vesstafy* means 'west of,' but could mean 'to the west,' 'in the west,' or 'westerly.' But *Vesstafybøtt'n* lies to the south and to the east of the rest of Aurland. However, the official map gives the form *Vestafarbotten*, and this is perhaps the correct form. With *far*, n., 'track, trail,' and *vesta*=*vestan* 'from the west,' the name would seem to mean: 'The far end of the trail from the west.' Somewhat farther south, but also near the Hallingdal border, lies another trail's end, namely *Varrgabøtt'n*. This trail starts at Flåm, leads past Holo and Rond sæter to Selftuft in Fretteimsdalen; thence it proceeds through Vindedalen and past the two lakes Vargavøtni to the border, near *Skreppestainsbøtt'n*. These trails were traders' routes over which men from Vangen and Flåm came, and men from Hallingdal came over their trails, to the border; they met here every summer at these trading posts and bartered and exchanged their

Aurland-made and Hallingdal-made trading goods. *Skreppestain* got its name from the fact that the men from Hallingdal always deposited their scrips on it.

In the old farm name *Dalbotten* (pron. *Dalbøtt'n*) we have a very special case among names of this kind. Today Flåmsdalen extends from Aurlandsfjorden to the foot of the mountain Vatnahalsen. Here the river turns a bit to the left and ends at Kjø'søfoss'n just below the Vatnahalsen Hotel (bombed and burnt down during the late war). On the right the valley ends at the base of Myrdalskleivi ('The Myrdal Cliff'), over the zig-zag road of which, with its 24 sharp turns, one arrives at the lower part of the grounds of the Myrdal railway station. But in the XIVth century less than half of this distance was considered 'the valley.' The farm *Dalbotten* was in existence in the early part of the XIVth century, and is listed as a tax-paying unit in *Bj. K.*, p. 47, as "J dalsbotne." At that time Flåmsdalen was regarded as ending at the slight rise of the terrain a short distance south of the present *Dalbotten* farm-steads, and hence the name (i) *Dalsbotn(e)*. (The form *Dalsbotn* is even now used in the *Matrikel*, as of 1907.)

At Høgabru ('Highbridge'), a little farther beyond the houses, the road winds to the right and then again to the left. Some distance farther on in the valley lies Tunshelle (also listed in *Bj. K.*), and just beyond this lies the farm Berrkvamm (dating from the XIVth century). These farms were considered as lying high up in the mountain wilderness beyond the valley's end. Considerably farther one passes the farm Melhus (which dates from the XVIIth century), and still farther on lies Kaurdal, first listed in a tax roll for 1644-1645. About Kaurdal, Tank, p. 8, quotes the roll as saying: "Er en rydnings plads i dette vilde fjeld." On this the view was the same in the XVIIth century, as it was at the time the farm *Dalbotten* received its name.

The indef. ON *botn* remains today as *botn*, pron. *bøtt'n* in the name *Dalbøtt'n*; the full name as part 1 in cpd. ns. is carried over into new cpds., hence the element *-bøtt'n-* nowhere becomes *-bøtt-*. Thus: *Dalbøtt'nmerkje* (*merkje* 'boundary mark or line'); *Dalbøtt'nbruna*, *Dalbøtt'njua* (*jua*, n., 'deep hole'), and *Dalbøtt'nskrad'n*. In other names with the word *bøtt'n* as the

final part the *-n* is usually felt to be the article. But by long-established practice in Aurland only the stem of a word is carried over into the situational name, and the word *bøtt'n* is reduced to *-bøtt-* as the middle theme in such names if part 1 is dissyllabic. Hence: *Hülldabøtt'n*—*Hülldabøttvatne*; and *Karibøtt'n*—*Karibøttklaivi*. For discussion and extensive exemplification of these things see *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. XIX (1947), pp. 159–172.⁹

But the def. and the indef. forms derived from ON *botn*, indef., and ON *botnin*, def., are now identical in Aurland, for while *botn* became *bøtt'n*, the def. ON *botnin* became *bøtn'n* and *bøtt'n'n*, which in late mdn. times became *bøtt'n*. While there are ca. 76 occs. of cpd. ns. ending in *-bøtt'n* in Aurland, there are very few situational names derived from names in *-bøtt'n*. There are the two mentioned above, and further: *Langebøtt'n*—*Langebøttnesed'n*, and *Langebøttstrøpad'n*; and *Hunabøtt'n* (*hun*, m., 'cub')—*Hunabøttvatne*, and *Hunabøttjile*. But in this case there are also the two forms: *Hunabøtt'njile* and *Hunabøtt'nsandane*, where the principle is violated.¹⁰ It is observed again in: *Vassbøtt'n*—*Vassbøttavatne*, where, with the monosyllabic part 1, part 2 is made dissyllabic. It is observed also in: *N^ybøtt'n*—*N^ybøtt'ngroⁱ*, where the dissyllabic form is accomplished by retaining the *n*, which could not be done if the *n* were the definite article. This kind of form we have again in: *Vettløbøtt'n*—*Vettløbøtt'nklaivi*. Here then the form *bøtt'n* is carried over into the new cpd. because it is felt to be the stem *botn*, and the principle of euphony is disregarded. But the euphonious and correct form would have been *Vettløbøttsklaivi* (*-ts-* for *-tns-*).

When *Bøtt'n* appears as the primary name, it is consistently treated as an indef. *botn*. Thus in the two sæter ns.: *Bøtt'n*, an abandoned sæter in Underdalen, where the look-out point from which the sæter can be seen, is called *Bøttnas^{yne}*; and similarly

⁹ See also G. Indrebø in *MogM.*, 1921, especially pp. 176–178.

¹⁰ The oldest names here were, I suggest, *Hunabøtt'n*, *Hunabøttvatne*, and *Hunabøttjile*. Then a sæter was started, and since a sæter name is treated in pl. ns. as a habitation name, the new name of the 'sands' near the sæter was called *Hunabøtt'nsandane*, and *Hunabøttjile* became *Hunabøtt'njile*. I cannot take the space here, however, to go into this.

at *Bøtt'n*, a sæter in the Berdal mountains, Vangen, where the situational features are named *Bøtt naberrje*, *Bøtt navattne*, and *Bøtt nagro'i*. At Midge the names *Bøtt nagro'i* and *Bøtt nastain* derive from *Rynjelsbøtt'n*. The plur. of *bøtt'n* is always *bøttneð'n* in the pl. ns. (cf. *føss*—*føssed'n*; *døkk*—*døkkjed'n*, and *døtt*[*dott*], m., 'tuft'—*døtted'n*).

BJØDD'N; *ON bjørn*. There is one occ. of the word as a main theme: *Bjødd'n*, a high ledge on the mountain side immediately west of, and across, the main river, from the Dalbøtt'n houses. On this ledge bears were often seen formerly. The spot is easily seen from the living room of the first Dalbøtt'n dwelling. *Bjødd'n* seems indicated as an old name by the number and kind of names derived from it, as: *Bjødd'nandsi*, the name of the mountain itself; *Bjødd'neð'n*, the forest, *Bjønn'stijen*, etc. The term *bjødd'n* appears as part 1 in ca. 25 cpd. names.

BRÜNN; *ON brunnr*. There are two pl. ns.: *Nøutabrünn* at Hjøllø, a place where the cattle watered, and *Sv'inabrünn* at Kvamm.

REUN; *ON *raunn*. The form recorded in *ON* is *reynir*. However, the Engl. dial. *roan tree*, *rowann tree*, Cumberland and Westmoreland counties, are from *ON *raunn*. The noun *raun* is extensively used in *WNorw.* and *Midland Norw. diall.*, elsewhere in Norway in different forms. *Reun* appears as the name of a meadow at Øyo; and as part 1 in *Reunejæraû* at Mølhus, where I was told that "Reuned'n va plannta aû Gammle Mølhused'n i Amerika."¹¹ The form *reun*, n. (*ON reynir*) occurs in the ns. *Røinbakkjen*, and *Røinjæred'n* at Ryo, where, however, they usually say: *rønnjæred'n* (the small trees were gotten at Rond, i.e., Rond sæter, and hence the pronunciation *rønn-*).

MANN; *ON maðr*, acc. *mann*—the nom. form *mannr* is found sporadically in *ON*. In Aurland the word appears as the name of a rock formation in the foothills of Røaldshovden, and considerably above Holo. The rock resembles a man in a sitting position. The region around it is called *Mannfjeddle*.

QBB'N, also sometimes pron. *qbb'en*; *ON ofn*. The only occ. in pl. ns. is in the name *Røvqbb'n* ('Fox Oven'), a kind of fox trap

¹¹ The Anders O. Melhus family in Flåm went to America in 1864 and settled in Goodhue Co., Minnesota; I met Anders O. Melhus in Goodhue Co. in 1889.

formerly used. It was a deep trench with stone walls, and the opening was covered over with branches; a high fence, narrow at the opening into the trench but wide-open at the outer end, was constructed, and into this the fox was driven. This triangular structure was called a *bæjegar* (*bæja*, v., 'hinder; steer away from or toward something'). Today the fox ovens are all in ruins; but in some cases the name *Røvqbb'n* remains as a field name. It appears at Ytterli, Dalbøtt'n, and Drægo, with the plur. name *Røvqbbnad'n* at Kvamm.

KAFF'TAIN. The word is regularly pron. so now, but *kapp-tain* formerly, and was probably borrowed from ME *capitain*, *capitaine*, ultimate source: Lat. *capitaneus*. *Kafftain* is the name of a field at Gudvango. Personal names and titles are often found among Aurland pl. ns. Thus at Kvamm one field is called *To'r'alld'n* or *To'ralldakker'n*, another is called *Gud'mund'n*; cf. also the name *Syll'fest'n* at Onstad. Not far from the sæter Høvdungo in S. Vangen stands a rock called *Press't'n*, and at Ryo a tall, large stone down near the Flåm border has the name *R'yapress't'n*. At Bell a field near the Veim line is called *Gorrd'n*; inside Veim there is a field by the same name. These fields (and there are two others elsewhere) are named after an Englishman by the name of *Gordon*, who owned them and had a small house there; he used to call his place "Vøttle gar'n minn."

STAIN; ON *steinn*. There are ca. 150 cpd. ns. with *stain* as the main theme. Well-nigh all of these are psychologically def. ns., with the earlier pron. *stain'n*, *steinen*. Some of these are: *H'y'stain*, at Fosseim, which stands near a former bear's hole; *Kannastain*, at Laui, a place where in the evening the returning goats and sheep were counted (*kanna*, v., 'acknowledge as one's own; count'); *Deu'or(s)tain*, at Brekke, a 'clock stone' (when the sun reached this stone it was a sign that it was 10 o'clock): the stone is high up on the mountain side, and has a birch growing out of it; *Badnastain* at Øffstebø, and at other places, a large stone with several smaller ones near its base; *Klqvvnastain*, at Tæro, and at six other places (*klqvna*, v., 'become cloven'), a very big stone cleft cleanly and smoothly from top to bottom. Another form for the name of such a stone is *Klqv'ninnjen*; this is found at Vidme, Ytterli, and twice at Dalbøtt'n; *Glit'astain*,

at Stigen. Part 1 here seems to be a noun *glit*, m., plur., *glita* 'glittering spots in a stone.' There is a saying in Underdal, known also elsewhere in Aurland, that every time the church bells ring at Underdal the 'Glitastain' turns twice. Further we have *Sjo'n'astain*, a high look-out point at Inderli (*sjon*, f., 'sight, range of vision'); *Uppaû Stain*, prepositional name of a tiny potato field (ca. 6×9 feet) just below the main road at Haugen, Flâm. Names with an adj. as part 1 are numerous: *Kv'it'êstain*, *Rûnn'd'êstain*, etc. In the names *Blau'stain* and *Grau'stain* the -e- is absorbed by the preceding *u*, as regularly in such position (cf. *Grau'nâsi*, name of a mountain, seven occs. of the name).

In old official documents of various kinds dealing with farm properties names of stones are now and then mentioned in connection with the locating of parcels of ground. In the "Opskrift" referred to above, many names of fields, etc. in the Hokjen-Brekke area are mentioned. There are three large stones that have names in this area: *Klôvvnastain*, *Sto'rêstain*, and *Deuor(s)-stain*; in this document of 1826 they are named: *Klovnestenen*, *Storestenen*, and *Deugerstenen*.

There is one stone in Aurland, and apparently only one, that has a name with indef. meaning, namely *Tqsstain*, a solid upstanding stone in Tqsstainflat'n above Kvamm near the Kvamm-Bjôrgo road. This is simply the pers. name *Torstein* (pron. *Tqsstain*).

CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN OLD NORSE PHONOLOGY

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I. *The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun ek plus the Verbal Form with Enclitic ek.* When the pronoun *ek* was used enclitically (-*k*, -*g*) with a verbal form (cf. *mälla-k*, *frétta-g*), the independent form of the pronoun could also be used, resulting in a redundant combination (cf. *ek mälla-k*, *ek frétta-g* 'I spoke[-I]', 'I asked[-I]'). The enclisis in the verbal form was chiefly confined to poetry and represents an inheritance from the PN era, as is attested by the evidence furnished by the runic inscriptions (cf. *hateka* [Lindholm], *snuheka* [Stenroos], etc.), where also the pleonastic usage occurred (cf. *ek erilar . . . haiteza* [Kragehul]).

Later, in the prose language of the literary era, enclisis of the second-person pronoun (*þú*, *it*, *ér*) likewise developed in conjunction with a verbal form (cf. *gekk þú* > *gekkstu* 'thou didst go,' *komeð it* > *komeðit* 'ye [two] come,' *komeð ér* > *komeðer* 'ye [plur.] come,' etc.). But in conjunction with this secondary type of enclisis the independent pronoun was never added, in spite of the pattern already established in the primary type (i.e., never **þú gekktu*, **(þ)ér komeðer*, etc. parallel to *ek mállak*). This discrepancy may be explained as due to the difference between the two types with reference to the enclitic form of the pronoun as associated with the independent form.

In the primary type the independent form of the pronoun *ek* had in enclisis lost its characteristic vowel, whereby it was reduced to a single consonant -*k* (later -*g* in unaccented syllables), which in course of time came to be felt as a sort of verbal ending rather than as the suffixed form of *ek*. When the suffixed form of the verb was used alone, representing the inverted word order (cf. *frétta-k*), the suffixed -*k* clearly functioned for *ek* as the subject of the verb. But when the independent form *ek* preceded (cf. *ek frétta-k*), the suffixed -*k* began to lose its force as a pronominal suffix because the pronoun *ek* in enclisis had lost its characteristic vowel and had assumed the appearance of an ending. This weakening of association between *ek* and -*k* was no

doubt enhanced through the influence of the suffixed *-k* (i.e., [*-m*]-*k* < **mik*) in the reflexive verbal forms (cf. *køllum-k* 'I am called': *em-k* 'I am'; *ek køllum-k:ek em-k*).

In the secondary type, on the other hand, the form of the pronoun in enclisis remained so far unaltered that it could be easily identified with the independent form: *þú* appeared as *-ðu*, *-du*, *-tu* (cf. *far-ðu*, *kenn-du*, *gakk-tu*), *it* (*ið*) remained unaltered (cf. *komeð-it*, *-ið*), and *ér* suffered only the slight change of long to short vowel (cf. *komeð-er*). Since the enclitic form of the pronoun was so easily identified with the independent form, the pleonastic usage was avoided, just as it is avoided when the pronoun follows the verbal form without enclisis (cf. never **þú gekkt þú* 'thou didst go,' hence never **þú gekkt-tu*). The discrepancy between the type *gekk-tu* (without the independent pronoun *þú*) and the type *ek em-k* (with the independent pronoun *ek*) may therefore be attributed to the close association between *þú* and *-tu* over against the weakened association between *ek* and *-k*, especially since neither one of these types employed the pleonastic use when enclisis did not occur (cf. *ek em-k*, never *ek em *ek*).

We may assume that originally the repetition of the pronoun *ek* through the addition of the enclisis was for the purpose of emphasis, but that in course of time the emphatic force of the enclisis gradually faded out into a purely pleonastic use, and for the reasons stated above.

II. **ai* > *ā* > *ǣ* in Unaccented Syllables. According to the current view,¹ the diphthong **ai* (when not in final position) in unaccented or semifortis syllables was monophthongized to *ā* > *ǣ* (cf. **Anu-laiðar* > *Ó-lǣfr* > *Ó-lǣfr*). Those who share this view have, however, failed to explain why the diphthong **ai* under these circumstances was monophthongized to *a* and not to *e* (i.e., **ai* > **ei* > **ē* > **ǣ*). There must have been some influence at hand which prevented the tautosyllabic *i*-umlaut of *a* in unaccented syllables (i.e., **ai* > **ei*, just as in accented syllables; cf. **Laiðar* > *Leiðr*). This influence has been attributed by Bengt

¹ Cf. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.* (1932), §117, 8; Iversen, *Norrøn Gram.* (1928), §27, anm.; Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.* (1923), §54, 3, b; Pipping, *Inledning till studiet av de nordiska språken* (1922), §14, l, p. 105.

Hesselman in his monograph *Omljud och brytning i de nordiska språken* (*Nordiska texter och undersökningar*, No. 15. Stockholm, 1945) to the assimilative force of the *a* in the following end syllable² (cf. **Anu-laiðar* > **Ó-láðar* > *Ó-láfr*); cf. ON *vera* > Swed. *vara*,³ substantive verb in atonic position. Hesselman, however, contends that the resultant vowel *a* was short. But this leaves the long vowel *a* in *Ó-láfr* unexplained. If it is true, as Hesselman assumes,⁴ that **ai* never yielded long *a* in syllables following the root, then he should have explained the long *a* (*Ó-láfr*) over against the short *a* (*Ó-láðr*). Besides, there is no reason why we should separate **ai* > *ā* > *ǣ* (**laiðar* > **lāðar* > *-láfr* > *-láðr*) in respect to vowel quantity from **ai* > **ei* > **ē* > *ē* (cf. **arm-ai* > **arm-ei* > **arm-ē* > *arm-ē*, dat. sing. form of *armr*). In unaccented syllables we may assume that the loss of the vowel **i* in the diphthong **ai* first resulted in compensative vowel lengthening (i.e., **ai* > **ā*: **ei* > **ē*), just as in accented syllables (cf. **aiχ* > **āh* > *á* [Goth. *aih*]; **sair* > *sár*); hence **Anu-laiðar* > **Ó-lāðar* > *Ó-láfr* (with semifortis accent on the ultima) > *Ó-láðr* (with simplex accentuation).

I think Hesselman may be right as to his explanation of the monophthongization of **ai* in favor of the vowel *a* (instead of *e*), but the assumption that this vowel *a* was originally short can hardly be reconciled with the fact that both long and short *a* are preserved, and that the development of short to long vowel in unaccented syllables is out of the question.

III. **Aiw* > *ǣ*(*v*) in Accented Syllables. The accented syl-

² Cf. p. 74: "Besläktade med dessa assimilationsföreteelser i svagton äro övergångarna av urn. *ai* och *ē*—*ē*-verbens stamslutande vokal—till *ǣ* i efterstavelser framför *a* i följ. stav. . . . fisl. *nafarr* 'navare' (en borrh) **nabagaiRa*, *Ólafr* msn. **Anulaibar*. . . ."

³ Cf. p. 73. Hesselman (p. 74) likewise explains as due to assimilation the lowering of **e* to *a* in the comparative suffix PI *-ter* when an *a* of the end syllable directly followed (cf. **anþera* > *annarr*, **hvaðera* > *hvaðarr*). But the Gothic likewise shows *-ar-* (*anþar*, *hvaþar*), and in Gothic, vowel assimilation cannot take place. Hence it is perfectly possible that this shift was of PG origin, preserved unaltered in East-North Gmc and with weakening of the *a* of the end syllable to *e* in WGmc (cf. OS *ððar*, OHG *and̄ar*: OE *ððer*, OFris. *ðther*; OS *hveðar*, OHG *hveðar*: OE *hweðer*), instead of a specifically ON development.

⁴ Cf. p. 74: ". . . några säkra bevis att förändringen av *ai* i efterstavelser givit *långt á* föreligga enligt min mening icke."

lable **aiw-* regularly yielded *æ* before a consonant with syncope of the vowel of the end syllable (cf. **saiw-AR* > *sær*, nom. sing.) but *éw-* with *v-* (<**w-*) before a retained vowel of the end syllable (cf. **saiw-ōR* > *sævar*, nom. plur.). Pipping, however, assumes that **aiw-* regularly yielded **āw-* > *āv-* (written also *áf-*) before a retained vowel of the end syllable⁵ (cf. **maiw-ōR* > *máfar*). A priori, Pipping's assumption seems unsound, inasmuch as it necessitates the explanation of the vowel *æ* in the whole plural paradigm of *sær* (as well as in the dat. sing. form *sævi*) as due to leveling in the paradigm in favor of the sing. forms with *æ*, in which the vowel of the end syllable was lost (i.e., **saiw-ōR* > **sāw-ōR* > **sāw-ar*⁶ leveled to *sæv-ar*, -a, -um, -a after the model of *sær*, *sæs*, *sé*, nom., gen., and acc. sing.). If **sāwar*, instead of **sæwar*, had been the phonetically correct form, we should expect the leveling to have resulted in the opposite direction, viz., in favor of the *ā*-forms throughout, since the *ā*-forms originally occurred (according to his theory) in all case forms except three (*sær*, *sæs*, *sé*). Furthermore, how can Pipping explain the monophthongization of **ai* > *ā* in **aiw-* as phonetically correct *only* when the vowel of the end syllable was retained? We know only that the retention of this vowel resulted in the retention of the **-w* (>-v, -f), but we must assume that if **ai* in **aiw-* became **ā*, this shift occurred *before* the time when the vowel of the end syllable was lost. This loss could have affected only the subsequent form but not the shift of **ai* > **ā* in the derivative form (cf. **maiw-AR* > **māw-R* > *mór*, nom. sing., but **maiw-ōR* > **māw-AR* > *máfar*). So far as the shift of **ai* > **ā* is concerned, both types are on a level with each other.

Therefore, I suggest a different explanation for the apparent discrepancy between **saiwōR* > *sævar*: **maiwōR* > *máfar*.

⁵ Cf. Pipping, *op. cit.*, §14, b, pp. 102-103: "Urn. *aiw* framför stabil vokal har gett *äw*, och denna övergång inträdde tidigare än *w*-bortfallet enligt 36. Npl **maiwōR* > fvn. *máfar* 'mäsar,' jfr ngottl. *māwä* 'mäs.' Gpl **χraiwō* (punkten betecknar nasalering av den föregående vokalen) > **χrāwā* > *hrā* . . . som ingår i fvn. (*h*)*rd-þefr* m. 'likstank.' Gpl **aiwō* och apl **aiwanz* > **aiwa* > fsv. *ä* adv. 'alltid.'"

⁶ Cf. Pipping (*ibid.*), §35, anm. 1; p. 135: " . . . npl **saiwōR* (senare **sāwar*) med stabil ändelsevokal. . . ."

In the first place, a form **maiwōR* cannot be assumed as the derivative form of *máfar*, for **maiwōR* would have yielded **máf̥ar* (cf. **saiwōR > sévar*). The stem syllable *máf-* in *máfar* must go back to either PG **maiγw-* or **maiχw-*.⁷ In either case the spirant would have been lost; **γ* according to Sievers' Law (cf. WGmc: OE *mēw*, OS *mēu*) and **χ* quite regularly after vowels (cf. OHG *mēh* < **maiχwaz*, ON *jór* < **exwaz*). To account for the vowel *á* in the form *máfar* a derivative form **maiχwōR* must be assumed, in which the diphthong **ai* was regularly monophthongized to **ā* preceding the spirant **χ* before the time when the spirant was lost, i.e., **maiχwōR > *māχwōR > *māhwōR > *māwōR > máfar* (cf. **aiχ > *āχ > *āh > á* = Goth. *aih*). This assumption obviates the apparent discrepancy between the vowels *é* and *á* in *sév-ar*: *máf-ar* in that the form *sév-ar* is derived from **saiw-ōR*, whereas the form *máf-ar* is derived from **māw-ōR* (not from **maiw-ōR*, as Pipping assumes). In the sing. paradigm of *máf-ar* where the vowel of the end syllable was lost, the radical vowel *ó* (< **ā*) could have had its point of departure in the nom. sing. form **māhwāR > *māhuR > mór*⁸ with *u*-umlaut of **ā* (hence *mós*, *mófi*, *mó*). Later, this *ó* was exchanged for *á* (*már*, *más*, *máfi*, *má*) after the model of those forms in which an **u* of the end syllable was not present (cf. the plur. paradigm *máf-ar*, etc.). The secondary form *máfr* borrowed the *f* from the plur. forms in *máf-* (*máf-ar*, etc., hence *máfr*: *máf-ar*).

The other examples which Pipping gives (see footnote 5, above) in illustration of **aiw > ā* (**χraiw > hrá[-þefr]*; **aiwō*: **aiwanz > OSwed. ā*) are not necessarily on a level with the type *máfar* in that (1) the form *hrá-*, instead of *hré*, may represent the proclitic form with *semifortis* accent⁹ (**hraiwa[a]-þéfr > hrá-þefr*), and in that (2) the OSwed. adverbial form *ā* 'always,' instead of *é* (= OIcel. *é*), may represent the regular *atonic* form in proclitic position⁹ (cf. OIcel. *á* in *á-vall*, and in adverbial

⁷ Cf. Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wörterb.*, Vol. I, p. 685, *Maage*; Fick, *Vgl. Wörterb. der Indo-germ. Sprachen*, p. 301, *maihwa*, *mai(g)va*.

⁸ Cf. Noreen, *op. cit.*, §77, 2.

⁹ Cf. Noreen, *op. cit.*, §54, 3a: "Vor dem haupttone [wird *ai* zu *ā*], z.b. *á* (zu *ey* 'immer,' got. *aiw*) in fällen wie *á meþan* 'stets' . . . oder *ávalt* (< **āw-allt*, got. *aiw allata* . . .) 'immer,' ebenso nnorw. *ámyrja* neben aisl. *eimyrja* 'heisse asche' . . ."

phrases such as *ā meðan*). This assumption is in keeping with the fact that **aib-* in atonic position *after* the root syllable regularly yielded *äv-* (cf. **Anu-laibak* > *Ö-läfr*; see II, above).

IV. *The Geminatio of -r>-rr in the Adverbial Comparative Suffix -ar*. In the adverbial comparative suffix *-ar* (<-**ōz*) the final *r* was often geminated (cf. *opt-ar* > *opt-arr*) and then carried over into the superlative form (cf. *ofar:ofast*, but *ofarr:ofarst*). The corresponding status of the additional *r* was later transferred to the adjectival forms (cf. *stðare:stðastr*, *stðarre:stðarstr*). The origin of this secondary *-rr* in the adverbial comparative suffix *-ar* is still a mooted question. Since final *r* in unaccented (or semifortis) syllables was never elsewhere geminated, the gemination of the *-r>-rr* in question cannot be of phonetic origin but must represent an analogical development which was in some way due to the influence of some other type of the adverbial comparative form with final *rr*.

Noreen suggests that this *-rr* in the type *optarr* was due to the influence of the type *nêrr*, *meirr*,¹⁰ in which an *-r* was added to the regular forms *nêr*, *meir* in order to re-enforce the comparative sense (*nêr* 'nearer' had developed a positive sense 'near,' and *meir* had no corresponding positive stem [cf. *mjokl*]).

I think Noreen has here pointed out the basic *principle* for the analogy, but his statement (cf. footnote 10) is misleading in regard to the analogical *process* inasmuch as he has not enclosed the final *r* in the forms "*nêrr*, *meirr*" in parentheses, i.e., *nêr(r)*, *meir(r)* parallel to "*optar(r)* . . . *nepar(r)*." If the *-rr* in the type *optarr*, *neparr* was due to the example of the *-rr* in the type *nêrr*, *meirr*, this can hardly be attributed to the forms *nêrr*, *meirr* alone but rather to these forms in conjunction with the regular forms *nêr*, *meir* with single *-r*, according to the analogical proportion *nêr*, *meir*, *optar:nêrr*, *meirr*, *optarr*. Noreen's confusion as to the analogical *process* is further evident from the fact that after the words "*Von nêrr, meirr*" he adds "*u.a.*" (= "und anderen"). It is not clear as to what "other" examples Noreen had in mind, for there are no other adverbial comparative forms in which a secondary *r* was added to the

¹⁰ Cf. Noreen, *op. cit.*, §280, Anm. 4: "*Von nêrr, meirr u.a. ist wol -rr anal. übertragen worden in fallen wie optar(r) 'öfter, nepar(r) 'weiter unten.'*"

organic *r* of the stem.¹¹ The type *fyrr*, *verr* is not on a level with the type *nêrr*, *meirr*, for in *fyrr*, *verr* the final *r* was organic (cf. *fyrr* < **fur-iz*, *ver* < **werz-iz*). That the type *fyrr*, *verr* had no influence on the type *optarr* is clear from the fact that the *-rr* in *fyrr*, *verr* was never simplified to single *-r*, resulting in doublet forms, i.e., **fyrr*:*fyrr*, **ver*:*verr*, parallel to *optar*:*optarr*. If by the words "u.a." Noreen refers to the type *fyrr*, *verr*, he has confused secondary final *r* with primary organic *r*.

In support of my contention as to the proportional analogy *nêr*, *meir*, *optar*:*nêrr*, *meirr*, *optarr* is the intrusion of an inorganic *r* in the *st*-suffix (*-st* > *-r-st*) in the superlative form of adjectival stems ending in a vowel, such as *fá-r*, *fá-ri*, *fá-str* > *fá-rsta*, due to the example of adjectives which preserved or lost the organic *r* in the superlative form, such as *fyrr-str*:*fy-str*, *ver-str*:*ve-str* (cf. *MLN*, Vol. 62 [1947], p. 258). The doublet forms with and without the organic *-r* of the stem (*fyrr-str*:*fy-str*, etc.) led to the doublet forms with and without the secondary *r* (*fá-str*:*fá-rstr*) because one of the doublet forms in type 1 (*fy-str*) corresponded to the regular form in type 2 (*fá-str*). Similarly, the doublet forms *nêr*:*nêrr*, *meir*:*meirr* without and with secondary *-r* led to the doublet forms *optar*:*optarr* because the regular forms with single *-r* in both types corresponded to each other (*nêr*, *meir*, *optar*).

V. Regarding *ft* > *fst*. The insertion of *s* between *f* and *t* is found only in OIcel. manuscripts. Julius Hoffory¹² has offered convincing evidence that those OIcel. dialects in which the inserted *s* occurs (cf. *oft* > *ofst*) did not possess the *pt*-form (*opt*), i.e., that in these dialects *f* was not shifted to *p* before *t*. If a *pt*-form did happen to occur alongside the *fst*-form in the same manuscript, this was due to the fact that the scribe (who wrote

¹¹ Cf. *belr* (< **batis*), *fyrr* (< **furis*), *heldr* (< **haldis*), *minnr*:*miðr* (< **minn* [= OSwed. *min*] < **minnis* [Goth. *mins*], *verr* (< **werz-iz*), all ending in primary organic *r* of the comparative suffix, except *minnr*:*miðr*, where a secondary *r* was added to *nn*.

¹² In his article "Oldnordiske Consonantstudier," *Arkiv*, Vol. II (1885), p. 11, footnote. In the first chapter, "Spiranterne *f*, *g*, *þ*" ("f," pp. 2-16), Hoffory convincingly refutes the contention that *p* < *f* before *t* and *s* represents a mere orthographical device for denoting the bilabial character of *f* (cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*, §159).

in the *fst*-dialect) simply retained the original *pt*-form of the manuscript, which preserved the shift of *ft* > *pt*. The fact that we do not find a single example of the type **opst* (< *opt*) proves that *s* was never inserted between *p* and *t* but only between *f* and *t* (*ofst*), and for this insertion Hoffory (p. 12) gives sound phonetic reasons.

In connection with the *fst*-forms (p. 11, footnote) Hoffory says: "Man bør dog lægge mærke til, at *fst* for *ft*, *pt* neppe forekommer, naar andre former af vedkommende ord opvise *f* uden efterfølgende *t*; vi finder altsaa f. ex. ikke *daufst*, *þurfsta*, *gafst* af *dauf*, *þurf*, *gef*." Hoffory, however, does not explain why the *fst*-forms of these words did not occur. Evidently he has overlooked one fundamental condition for the *fst*-forms, viz., that here the *t* in the combination *ft* must be *stable*, i.e., it must be an integral part of the stem, which could not be removed in the inflectional paradigm (cf. *oft* > *ofst*, adv. and invariable; *kraft*-*r*, -*s*, -*ar*, etc. > *kraftst*-*r*, -*s*, -*ar*, etc.). The *t* in the combination *ft*, as this occurs in the forms *dauft*, *þurfsta*, *gafst*, was *unstable*, i.e., the *t* was added to the stem either as an ending (*dauf*-*t*, adj.; *gaf*-*t*, verb) or as the initial consonant of a suffix (*þurf*-*ta*). In the type *dauf*-*t*:*gaf*-*t* the forms **daufst*:**gafst* would have inevitably been leveled out in the paradigm to accord with the root forms *dauf*:-*gaf*-. In the type *þurf*-*ta* the *t*, which occurs throughout the preterite system, is lacking in the present system where the root *þurf*- occurs (cf. *þurf*-*a*, -*um*, etc.). Therefore, a form **þurfsta* would have inevitably been leveled out to accord with the root *þurf*-. It is clear then that the *s* was not inserted between the *f* and *t* wherever the *fst*-form would disturb the normal inflection of the paradigm (cf. *kraft*-*r* > *kraftst*-*r*, but not *þurf*-*ta* > **þurfsta*).

Noreen's statement as regards the *fst*-forms (*op. cit.*, §309): "In mehreren alten *aisl.* hdsch. [wird *s* eingeschoben] zwischen *f* und *t*, wenn die Gruppe *ft* alt ist, d.h. nicht durch synkope entstanden, z.b. *ofst* (*oft*, *opt*)," while correct, is somewhat misleading in that it implies that the *ft* which was the result of the syncope had a different phonetic value from the primary *ft*, and that this difference was responsible for the discrepancy as regards inserted *s*. Evidently Noreen left the discrepancy un-

explained because he, like Hoffory, failed to note that the *t* in the syncopated forms was a part of the inflectional system, and hence the *s* between *f* and *t* would have disturbed the normal inflection. Furthermore, Noreen's statement leaves out of account the fact that even in certain forms where syncope did not occur the "old" *ft* always remained without inserted *s* (cf. *gaft*, *þurfta*).

We may conclude then that the relation of the *ft*-forms to the *fst*-forms has never been satisfactorily treated because leveling in the paradigm, due to the nature of the *t* (stable and unstable) in the combination *ft*, has not been sufficiently taken into account.

VI. *The Shift of np > *nn in the Proper Names Arn-þórr and Stein-þórr.* The treatment of *-þ* after *-n* in these two compound names was parallel so long as the *-þ* remained, due to association with the *þ* in the independent word *þórr*, i.e., *np*, and *np > *nð > nd* due to weakened stress in the end syllable (cf. *Arn-þórr*, *Stein-þórr > Arn-dorr*, *Stein-dorr*). But when the association between *-þórr* of the compound and the independent word *þórr* was weakened through composition, resulting in the new combination *-np-*, the shift of *-np- > *nn-* took place in *Arn + þórr > Arnþórr > *Arnnórr > Arnórr*, but not in *Stein + þórr > Steinþórr > *Steinnórr*. This discrepancy is due to the fact that in the form *Arn-órr* the stem syllable *Arn-* remained unaltered through the simplification of *-*nn-* (<*-np-*) to single *-n-* after the consonant *-r-* (cf. after *t* in **botnR > *botnn > botn*), whereas in a form **Steinnórr* the combination *-*nn-* (<*-np-*) would have remained without further reduction to single *-n-* after a vowel. Since the stem syllable of the compounds in *-þórr* always remained unaltered, a form **Steinn-órr* (with the original syllable division) would not have been in accord with the derivative form *Stein-þórr* (cf. *Arn-þórr: Arn-órr*, but *Stein-þórr: *Steinn-órr*) but would have been equated with a form **Steinn-þórr*. We may conclude then that the shift of *np > *nn* in the form *Stein-þórr* was checked by the counter-leveling influence of the element *Stein-*, which furnished the pattern for the compound.

VII. *Ars: rass.* Noreen (*op. cit.*, §281) lists several examples of the sporadic gemination of a consonant following a short

accented vowel. Since the gemination was exceptional and sporadic, it is most likely that the accent was not the only factor responsible for the gemination. Some of the examples can be best explained as due to analogical influences, and one of these is the form *rass* < *ars*, which Noreen, for some inexplicable reason, omits in (§281) the fourth edition of his *Aisl. Grammatik* but includes in (§271) the third edition (1903).

The original form of *rass* was *ars*, which with metathesis of the *r* should have yielded a form **ras* with single final *s*. There is nothing to show that the gemination *-ss* in the form *rass* was due to the fact that an **s* (**ras*) directly followed a short accented vowel. On the other hand, this secondary *-ss* could very well have been due to the influence of the type *hross* 'horse' with primary *-ss* (cf. OHG *hros*, *hro-ss-es*, etc.) with short radical vowel and the preceding consonant *r*, which was subject to metathesis, according to the proportion *hors:hross*, *ars:rass*. In the form *hors* the original *-ss* was simplified after the consonant *r*-, whereas in the form *rass* the single **s* (**ras*) was doubled after the radical vowel in conformity with the type *hross* with original *-ss*. Similarly, compare the type *skars:skass* 'giantess,' in which the *r* was not subject to metathesis but in conjunction with *s* resulted in *ss*¹³ (*skars:skass*, *ars:rass*). Here the influence of the form in *-ss* (*skass:rass*) seems all the more plausible in that *skass* and *rass* form perfect rime words and both were used in a contemptuous sense. In view of the conformity of *-rs* and *-ss* in the analogical proportion *hors:hross*, *skars:skass*, *ars:rass*, the validity of the analogy (**ras* > *rass*) can hardly be questioned, especially since the stress theory has no factual basis.

¹³ Cf. *fors:foss*, *ars:rass*.

OBSERVATIONS ON SWEDISH GRAMMAR: VI

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*The Article "Present Tense for Present Perfect and
Past Tense for Past Perfect in Swedish"*¹

IN this article² it was stated that there had come under my observation only two occurrences³ of the type with the preposition *på*. Additional examples are now available in my collections. *Verkställande direktören i aktiebolaget Patria, Gösta Wickner, satt på fjärde dagen ensam i sin våning efter middagen och vänlade sin fru.*⁴ *Faktum kvarstod: Gustav Sjöholm var redan på åttonde månaden ett namn.*⁵ *Nu låg han redan på sjunde året vid universitetet.*⁶ As yet I have encountered no such sentence with the verb in the present tense, but there is now available one example with the verb in the present perfect:⁷ . . . *då jag levat i celibat på fjärde veckan.*⁸ The statement in the article that *på* puts less emphasis on the elapsed time than does *sedan*, and more emphasis on the fact of continuation, is correct, but a more important point of difference is that, for example, *på sjunde året* means "for more than six years (and now in the seventh)," while *sedan sju år* means "for seven years."

Note the sentence: *Elisabeth kände mycket väl och sedan länge den läkare som skötte Josefine.*⁹ In English we must say: "... knew very well and had long known . . ."

¹ *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 17 (1943), pp. 305-308.

² P. 308.

³ One of these was taken from Olof Östergren's *Nusvensk ordbok*.

⁴ Gustav af Geijerstam, *Äktenskapets komedi*¹³ (Stockholm, 1909), p. 143.

⁵ August Strindberg, *Röda rummet*¹⁴ (Stockholm, 1912), p. 64.

⁶ Karl Johan Rådström, *Vänkapsgatan* (Stockholm, 1944), p. 352. Other examples, *ibid.*, p. 86, p. 176, p. 283.

⁷ That the supine in this sentence represents the present perfect tense is shown by the context, here omitted.

⁸ Vilhelm Moberg, *Sänkt sedebetyg*¹⁷ (Stockholm, 1939), p. 77.

⁹ Olle Hedberg, *Josefine*³ (Stockholm, 1940), p. 362.

REVIEWS

In Denmark I Was Born . . . : A Little Book of Danish Verse.

Selected and Translated by R. P. Keigwin, with Contributions by Other Hands. Andr. Fred. Høst & Sons, Copenhagen, 1948. Pp. 104.

"These few drops from Denmark's Castalian Springs," Mr. Keigwin says in his too brief introduction, "have been collected, primarily, for the refreshment of Danes living abroad and for their children, who often do not understand Danish well enough to appreciate the finer points of a poem in that language." It is a charming little book, with a gay and tasteful blue cover, designed by Vibeke Lind. The original Danish poems are on the left-hand page; the translations, on the right. An easier or pleasanter way of maintaining one's familiarity with Danish in its most idiomatic and graceful forms of expression would be hard to find. There are forty poems by twenty-eight poets, beginning with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kingo, Brorson, and Stub; continuing through the great nineteenth-century galaxy, including Baggesen, Ewald, Oehlenschläger, Winther ("the most Danish of them all"), Blicher, H. C. Andersen (from whose "I Danmark er jeg født" the title was taken), Aarestrup, Drachmann, and J. P. Jacobsen; and concluding with a few of our own times, such as Aakjær, L. C. Nielsen, and Kaj Munk. None of the Danish poets still living is included, but there is a welcome hint that these may be similarly presented in a companion volume at some future date. It is to be hoped that the present book will be sufficiently successful to encourage the publication of such a sequel.

Eight of the forty translated poems are by other hands than the editor's, namely Edmund Gosse, R. S. Hillyer, Mark Baker, Paul Selver, and C. W. Stork. The other thirty-two are by Mr. Keigwin himself, who is today, in my opinion, our most faithful and artistic translator from the Danish, as was clearly shown in his earlier volume, *The Jutland Wind* (1944). His modesty is as great as his skill. He indicates in his introduction that when trying to convey the spirit of a poem into a foreign language without loss of accuracy or falsity of tone, one may hope to

approach perfection only distantly. "And yet hope he must," adds Mr. Keigwin, "hope until the heart breaks.'" But he is willing to take infinite pains, and has the reward of not infrequently being inspired by the grateful Muse. How faithful and felicitous at the same time he can be is perhaps illustrated by his translation of the following stanza from Helge Rode's *Sne*:

Der er ingenting i Verden, der kan mildne som Sne.
Tys, du lytter, til det Tavse klinger.
O, saa fin en Klang,
Sølverklokkesang
inderst inde i Dit Hjerte ringer.

There is nothing in the world that can soothe like snow.
Hush! You'll hear the very silence ringing.
O how faint a song,
silver carillon
in your heart, deep deep within you, singing.

ERNEST BERNBAUM
Freedom's Haven
Jaffrey, New Hampshire

Böök, Fredrik. *Esaias Tegnér: brev i urval och med förklaringar*.
Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, 1947. Pp. 346. Price,
18 crowns.

Fredrik Böök, one of the greatest living authorities on Tegnér, has in this book enriched his contributions to our knowledge and appreciation of this famous Swedish poet. Here Böök has made a most judicious selection of one hundred and one letters, with a view towards furnishing a representative picture of Tegnér's personal relations and literary activity. The book may therefore be considered as a direct supplement to Tegnér's letters previously published by Böök (in conjunction with Ewert Wrangel) in his *Esaias Tegnér, Samlade skrifter*. In contrast to the earlier publication, the present volume emphasizes, in accord with Böök's purpose, the *human* element in Tegnér's life. That Böök has accomplished his purpose is clear to anyone who reads the notes and explanations with which the letters are provided. The practical value of the book is enhanced by a *Personregister* (pp. 317-337) and by a *Register över Tegnér's dikter* (pp. 339-

351) with references to the volume and page where these poems are to be found in the *Samlade skrifter*.

This scholarly work is a fine contribution to our understanding of Tegnér, for it affords us a rare glimpse into the inner, personal life of the poet and reveals those individual characteristics which mark Tegnér as the peculiar genius that he was.

A. M. STURTEVANT

University of Kansas

Benterud, Aagot. *Camilla Collett: En skjebne og et livsverk*, Dreyers forlag, Oslo, 1947. Pp. 367. Illustrations.

Aagot Benterud brings to her study of Camilla Collett a fine appreciation of the culture of the period and an intimate knowledge of the Wergeland family and their associates. The present volume does not mark Aagot Benterud's introduction to the clerical household at Eidsvoll, for the author has already published a study (*Henrik Wergelands religiøse utvikling*) on a member of that illustrious family.

In the short introductory section of the present volume, the author, concentrating on essentials, has drawn a clear picture of the social class to which Camilla Wergeland belonged. The customs, the conventions, the traditions, the prejudices, and the prevailing romantic views of this privileged class are sharply drawn. On the basis of this background Aagot Benterud moves rapidly into an analysis of her subject. She shows that Camilla Wergeland, as a child and as an adolescent, was disposed toward melancholy and in general was inclined toward the current romanticism. The former tendency never left her. After her unfortunate affair with Welhaven she sought escape in Hamburg. She thought that there she would find the meaning of life in a selected, well-regulated, aesthetic environment; but she did not. She returned to Norway as an aristocratic, narrow-minded, melancholy young woman. Still seeking escape, she read George Sand, Rahel Varnhagen, Mme. de Staël, and others, but these women only made her situation seem more hopeless. Not until after she was married and had learned from her husband how to face the reality of life was she able to divest herself of her romanticism.

It is from the early period of her marriage that Camilla Collett began to understand the restrictions that tradition had placed upon women, and that these restrictions prevented women from attaining happiness, leaving them arrested, frustrated, and frigid. The author shows that Camilla Collett's understanding of the emancipation question was actually based upon her personal misfortune, specifically Welhaven's rejection of her. She had been reared according to the concept current among those of her class, that woman as a mature individual, possessed of feeling and desire, should not enter positively into the courtship and marriage relationship. Her father's specific, excessive discipline, moreover, produced in Camilla an attitude of antipathy toward men. Welhaven's rejection of Camilla Wergeland is explained on the basis that she consistently displayed a passive attitude toward him. When, with the aid of her husband, Camilla Collett thought this problem through, she became obsessed with a desire to rectify the tradition before another generation of women should fall victims to it; hence she threw her not inconsiderable talent and effort into the movement for the emancipation of women.

To make herself an effective instrument for her mission, Camilla Collett read widely in current Scandinavian, continental, and English sources. Never a great writer, although a first-class propagandist, she is now remembered for the influence that she exerted upon her contemporaries rather than for her own literary production. The author shows that Ibsen, Bjørnson, Kielland, and Lie, among others, were influenced by Camilla Collett. She demonstrates clearly, for example, that Ibsen's view of women, which Camilla Collett characterized as that of an Old Testament prophet, was changed primarily through Camilla Collett before Ibsen wrote *A Doll's House*. Ibsen's reconsideration of the whole problem of life—duty vs. happiness—and his modification of his view also stem from Camilla Collett. After reading Aagot Benterud's biography of Camilla Collett no one is likely to forget her pronounced influence upon her contemporaries or to underrate it.

I have here emphasized Aagot Benterud's main thesis—Camilla Collett's understanding of the problem of woman's

emancipation and her contribution to the movement—but there is a great deal more in the volume than that. The author gives, for example, an interesting analysis of the Wergeland-Welhaven literary feud. Her detailed portrait of Welhaven shows him to be an arrogant and diffident, if not an aristocratic, snob. She traces Welhaven's mature behavior in large part to his rearing, and her conclusions seem to me convincing. Among other commendable features of the work are her treatments of the Camilla Collett-Ibsen relationship, and of the numerous exchanges between Camilla Collett and her contemporaries. In spite of her great admiration for her heroine, Aagot Benterud does not spare Camilla Collett so far as her personal mannerisms are concerned. The author, moreover, discusses in detail the literary works of Camilla Collett and analyzes her theory of art. We thus get a complete picture of her as a person and as a writer and propagandist.

I find that the author's analysis of Camilla Collett's writings is unnecessarily detailed and, although generally well written, the book sometimes becomes too chatty. Camilla Collett's relationship to her children is slighted. There are several minor discrepancies, of which I shall cite just one. On page 194, the author mentions John Stuart Mill's *On the Subjection of Women*, which was published in England in 1869. Of it Benterud says, "Men John Stuart Mills bok kom først i 1860-årene hit" (p. 194). It is true that Brandes translated Mill's book in the same year in which it was published in England, and therefore it could have got to Norway in 1869, but the author's statement is too vague to convey exact information.

The book is interesting and, in general, good.

SVERRE ARESTAD

University of Washington

Vem skrev vad. Förlags AB Svenska Samlingsverk, Stockholm, 1948. 573 pages. Price, 10 crowns (paper covers, 12.50 crowns).

Any attempt to encompass world literature within a few hundred pages, though it may escape major disasters, will hardly escape the minor one of stubbing its toes on details. Bearing this

in mind, one feels no hesitation about pronouncing *Vem skrev vad* on the whole an eminently useful compilation of author-biographical information plus assorted facts concerning the printing and distribution of books, the arrangement of libraries, the criticism and history of literature, etc., compiled by a staff of some two dozen people under the general editorship of Jan Cornell.

This reviewer has made no serious attempt to record the number of mistakes due to the endless opportunities for minor misinformation afforded by books of this kind. A hasty reference to *The Oxford Companion to American Literature* confirms the impression that Edmund Wilson should not have been listed as an "English critic" (p. 195). Eudora Welty, labelled on page 195 as "English," appears four pages later as "an American." Gertrude Stein's death is not so recent that it should have gone unrecorded. Not a few American names are misspelled. The treatment of foreign literature in general suffers from its being limited in the main to authors available in Swedish translation—a crippling principle indeed. Of chief interest to your reviewer are the sections on Scandinavian literature, which fill approximately 200 pages as compared with about 270 for oriental, ancient, and Modern European and American literature. Some of the Scandinavian articles are well written, including, despite its briefness, Dr. Daniel Andræ's on the mediæval period. In the treatment of Modern Swedish letters one misses the names of numerous currently productive writers. In alphabetical order I should list, to mention only a few, Gunnar Beskow, Fredrik Böök, Bertil Gedda, Carl-Erik af Geijerstam, Axel Klinckowström, Axel Strindberg, Gunhild Tegen, and Annie Åkerhielm.

The volume suffers from two major defects (the first of them inevitable in any patchwork compilation), namely, (1) unevenness in balance and in critical acumen, and (2) varying standards of literary appraisal. As an example of this latter defect, unsuspecting Swedes may read that Erskine Caldwell's stark though understanding depiction of backward Georgians in *God's Little Acre* is proffered by him as an argument for accepting "primitivismen som en lösning på den moderna människans problem"! This type of defect was not inevitable and hence cannot be

pardoned. Although the alphabetically arranged bibliographical notices which, together with the longer general articles on national literatures, constitute the bulk of the volume do give a fair idea of the individual authors' productions (all titles are listed in Swedish translation), nevertheless, nowhere in the book can one look up a title and find a reference to its author. In this respect, *Vem skrev vad* fails to live up to its name.

Numerous photographs and illustrations enhance the book's attractiveness. Frequently interspersed literary quotations give the reader unexpected pleasure as he peruses a work which is useful, although of uneven conception and execution.

ERIK WAHLGREN

University of California, Los Angeles

Olson, Ernst William. *Valda dikter, Selected Poems*, Biblioförlag, Nyblom & Härshagen, Upsala. Distribuent i Amerika, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., U.S.A. 1947. Pp. 288 (10×6.75 inches). \$2.50.

Lovers of Swedish-American literature have long expressed the hope that Dr. Ernst William Olson would prepare for publication a selection of his poems in Swedish and in English, culled from his contributions during the years that he has devoted to literary work as editor of the *Observer*, Rock Island, *Fosterlandet*, Chicago, *Nya Pressen*, Moline, *Svenska Tribunen*, Chicago, and, since 1911, office editor with Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island. In his close contact with the Swedish-speaking public, he has written poems to commemorate historic events in the life of the pioneers. As an historian, he has written *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, 1908, *En bokhandelshistoria*, 1909, *The Swedish Element in Illinois*, 1917, *Augustana Book Concern, a Monograph*, 1934, *Olof Olsson: The Man, His Work, and His Thought*, 1941.

Born in Sweden, E. W. Olson was brought to America at the age of eight, and in this country he developed into the bilingual author that he is. The well known bibliophile Vice Consul G. N. Swan in his day placed Olson among the very first Swedish-American poets and regretted that this poetry had appeared chiefly in newspaper columns. Now at last we have a collection of these poems in a large, handsome book of 288 pages,

printed on excellent paper and neatly bound. The inside covers give us Birger Sandzen's pleasing landscape *Prairie Stream*.

Dr. Birger Sandzen has also written the Preface, in which he states: "Han [Olson] behandlar svenska och engelska med samma mästerskap. Han förstår de mest olikartade motiv och stämningar, sorg, allvar, vardagsknog, festlig glädje och äkta humor."

The contents of the book are divided as follows: *Blandade dikter*, pp. 13-107, *Skämdikter*, pp. 111-142, *Översättningar* (Translations from English to Swedish and one from Norwegian to Swedish), pp. 145-163, *Selected Poems* (in English), pp. 167-213, *Translations* (from Scandinavian languages to English), pp. 217-288. The book is rather evenly divided between Swedish and English.

Since Dr. Olson has been intimately connected with the cultural and religious activities of Americans of Swedish extraction ever since his arrival in America in 1878, he is today a leading authority on the Swedish contribution to America during the last hundred years. Since he is himself a part of this human stream from Sweden to the Middle West, he can interpret the longings and aspirations of this element of the American nation. He knows pioneer life, he is a product of the schools founded by the homesteaders, and he has always been devoted to preserving the best traditions of his people.

In his *Kantat vid Augustanasynodens 50-årsjubileum 1910*, which has four parts: 1. *Utvandring*, 2. *Banbrytarna*, 3. *Det första templet*, 4. *Samfundet*, the poet begins with the stanza:

Ut över vågornas vidder går
färden långa, den tusenmila;
hågen till hinsidan havet står,
hoppets fåglar i förväg ila,
längtande vingar ej vila,
vimpeln den blågula västvert slår.

These lines show Dr. Olson's skill in using rhyme and alliteration. He employs a variety of meters with ease. There may be an occasional line that seems somewhat forced, but these are not numerous.

The first efforts of the pioneers did not always bring immedi-

ate reward, but soon the pioneer was able to say:

Se vitnande fält, som gunga, de lova oss ladan full!
Hör präriens vindar sjunga, se majsens mognande gull!
Må andre gå segerglade att strida med lansar och svärd,
vi vinne med plog och spade en ny, en skönare värld!

There is in Olson no struggle between the Old World and the New, such as is found in many other Swedish-American authors, some of whom are literally torn between the two countries. While Olson fully appreciates what the mother country had given the pioneers as an heritage to be passed on to America, he shows no pining to return. While preserving what is good in the old culture, the poet desires to make the new domicile ever better for future generations.

The religious chord vibrates again and again in Olson's poetry. He celebrates church and school men, such as Professor Olof Olsson of Augustana College, Dr. M. C. Ranseen, for many years the pastor of a Swedish Lutheran church in Chicago, and Dr. Carl Swensson of Bethany College.

The poem concerning Dr. Gustav Andreen of Augustana College appears in the section called *Skämtdikter*, since it treats the college president's task from the humorous angle, showing how he must be a master of all trades and remain responsible for everything that happens on the campus. *Sagoskämtan* is another of these humorous productions, written in connection with the visit of the Swedish antiquarian Oscar Montelius in 1908. In a poem replete with alliteration, Olson expresses his welcome, the first stanza of which runs:

Välkommen till Vinland,
färdman i västerväg,
fornman från fjärran
fädernejord.
Glättigt med glasdryck
gästen vi halse,
hövding och hävdman,
namnkunnig i nord.

The *Selected Poems* relate in English the accomplishments of the pioneers and celebrate in a fitting manner their achievements.

The *Translations* include among other selections several



cantos from Esaias Tegnér's *Frithiof's Saga*, also the elegy *Angelica* of Bernhard Elis Malmström, Gustaf Fröding's *Narcissus*, and Hans Adolph Brorson's *Den store hvide flok*.

From Swedish hymnody, Olson gives us translations of hymns written by Johan Olof Wallin, Arvid August Afzelius, Jesper Svedberg, Mikael Franzén, and others. The reader familiar with Wallin's *Var hälsad, sköna morgonstund*, will be pleased by the happy rendering of the first stanza:

All hail to thee, O blessed morn!
 To tidings long by prophets borne
 Hast thou fulfillment given.
 O sacred and immortal day,
 When unto earth, in glorious ray,
 Descends the grace of heaven!
 Young and old, their voices blending,
 Praise are sending
 Unto heaven
 For the Saviour to us given.

JOSEPH ALEXIS
University of Nebraska

The Will to Succeed: Stories of Swedish Pioneers. With an Introduction by Adolph B. Benson. Albert Bonnier Publishing House, New York, 1948. Pp. 347. \$2.75. Paper bound.

As the readers of *Scandinavian Studies* know, the Swedish American Line sponsored during 1948, as part of the centennial celebration of the Swedish settlements in the Middle West, an essay contest on the general subject of the influence of Swedish settlers on a community or region. To make the contest appeal to prospective participants, the company offered liberal prizes for the best essays submitted, the most attractive of which prizes were free trips to Scandinavia with all expenses paid. That the contest would be successful so far as the number of entrants is concerned, no one, I suspect, doubted, but few could have expected that many of the essays would be, from one point of view or another, excellent.

The book *The Will to Succeed* is more than sufficient proof that the idea behind the contest was a happy one and that the results are very much worthwhile. The book contains a fine in-

roduction by Professor Benson in addition to thirty of the better essays on Swedish-American personalities, institutions, and achievements. All of them—from the entertaining and informative essay on Professor Anton Carlson to the one on Carl Sandburg—present accounts of Swedish contributions to American civilization in simple, human terms. The book makes good reading.

The essays are not literary masterpieces. Moreover, there are here and there misprints, misspellings, inaccuracies about facts, and, occasionally, misinterpretation of facts. But after carefully reading the book from cover to cover, this reviewer has to agree with Professor Benson's statement in the Introduction:

The writer feels that much of the value of the articles lies, and will lie, in the more or less exact reproduction of the facts and stories as presented. To submit the essays to an extensive and maybe devastating editorial revision, bringing them all down to the same nondescript level, would be fatal. More often than not their charm, vigor, and interest are enhanced by their simple, straightforward style. Besides, when the reader learns about the group of American Indians who spoke English with a Swedish accent; when he reads the tale of the Swedish woman who put Berea College on its feet—and the neighboring mountain people on *their* feet—through her handicraft and general business intelligence; when he hears of a native of Skåne, who built an empire of flowers in Connecticut and became wealthy selling roses; and when, furthermore, he reads the essay about the Swedish bishop in Utah, who managed a cooperative city and three wives simultaneously—when he becomes aware of all these unusual, yet among Swedes quite common facts, he will, we imagine, forget about picayune matters of form, meticulous scholarship, or literary distinction.

Professor Benson puts the case well.

The Will to Succeed will, it is to be hoped, suggest to persons who intend to write about the history of the Swedes in America that if their books or articles are to appeal to many thousands of Swedish Americans instead of to a few hundred or at best a few thousand, the books or articles must be written in such a way that they will give readers both pleasure and benefit. By this it is not implied that there should be sacrifice of "meticulous scholarship or literary distinction" even if the books are written in such a way that large numbers of Americans of Swedish descent will not only read them but in so doing will gain a keener insight into their heritage.

The Will to Succeed is a valuable by-product of what was,

according to all reports, a highly successful and memorable centennial.

WALTER JOHNSON
University of Washington

Allwood, Martin S., and Wald, Arthur. *Svenska som lever*. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., 1948.

The authors, in their subtitle, refer to this rather interesting collection of miscellanies as a Swedish anthology with an English word list. Here we find samples of Swedish gathered from slang to literature, street signs to aphorisms, epigrams to poetry. On the last page it is noted that the book is intended for use as instructional material in American colleges. The first third of the book is called "Lätta saker" and the balance of the book "Svårare saker."

Many of the selections, no doubt, may rekindle pleasant memories in the minds of native Swedes in America. But such love of the fatherland is not a part of the experience of second-, third-, and fourth-generation Swedish-Americans or of non-Swedes. We must, therefore, look critically at the material in an attempt to evaluate it as a teaching tool.

We are not told how the items in the book were selected. It appears that no systematic method has been employed and the representativeness of the material consequently may be questioned. The twenty-three sections of the book seem for the most part to be all too incomplete for effective use at the college level. The number of divisions of the 154 pages is evidence that each section is very brief. It is also unfortunate that not a single annotation or any descriptive material whatsoever is contained in the book. Such material not only would have increased the value of the collection to the student but also would have given some direction or purpose to the book.

It is difficult to understand why the book is divided on the basis of "Lätta saker" and "Svårare saker." "Lätta" and "Svårare" to whom? Surely not to native Swedes, nor to the authors! On the other hand, the student certainly may find proverbs as difficult as limericks, epigrams as difficult as songs or light verse,

riddles as difficult as jokes. Some of the so-called easier items are often very difficult, especially for the non-Swede.

The vocabulary has been selected entirely subjectively. This is evident from the fact that in the first five lines of each of the twenty-three sections, a large number of words are not listed. As in the matter of difficulty, again in the vocabulary it is assumed that one can guess which words may cause difficulty and therefore need defining.

The reviewer checked 115 lines in the manner described above and found a surprising number of words omitted from the vocabulary. Words beginning with the letter "C" have been omitted entirely, this despite the use of "Citat" as the title of a section and the word "cykelbana" as a sign. Why include "hålla av" and "hålla fram" but not "hålla på"? The latter must be understood in order to see the point of the Engström joke, p. 94. In the same joke, why list "slå ihjäl" but not "slå ner sig"? The reviewer found similar discrepancies on almost every page in the book. The student would do well to use a good Swedish-English dictionary rather than this list of words.

Because of the stated limitations; namely, lack of representativeness of the material, brevity of each section, lack of annotations or descriptive material, incomplete vocabulary, as well as failure to key the material to the needs of the college student, the book appears to be of doubtful value as a teaching tool.

EINAR R. RYDEN
Purdue University

BOOK NOTES

American-Swedish Handbook, Vol. III. Centennial Edition. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., for the Augustana Institute of Swedish Culture, 1948. Pp. 176. \$2.00. Professor Arthur Wald and his fellow editors, the Institute, and the Book Concern are to be congratulated on the new edition of the *American-Swedish Handbook*. It is filled with useful information about American Swedish organizations and institutions, publishers and book sellers, the Swedish-American press, diplomatic and consular representation, travel information, instruction in Swedish, and many other topics of interest to Swedish Americans. Even though a few bits of information here and there are already of necessity out of date, the handbook fulfills its purpose in excellent fashion.

In addition to all this useful information and to some up-to-date bibliographies, the book has brief but admirable articles on such topics as the Nobel prizes, Swedish immigration to the United States during the past century, Swedish orders and decorations, Swedish poetry in America, and GI's at the University of Stockholm. It is a book which can be highly recommended!

American Swedish Historical Museum Yearbook—1947. Edited by the Library Committee. Philadelphia, 1947. Pp. 120. Illustrations. Unbound. The 1947 yearbook of the American Swedish Historical Foundation is an attractive volume, which many readers of *Scandinavian Studies* will find interesting. Of the six articles included, two—La Mar D. Mulliner's "A History of the American Consular Office at Göteborg, Sweden" and William P. Kennedy's "A Diplomat Departs"—deal, respectively, with the achievements of William W. Corcoran, first American Consul General at Göteborg, and with the man sometimes called "Uncle Sam's Master Spy." The remaining four, Märtha Ångström's "Swedish Emigrant Guide Books of the Early 1850's," Grace G. Albinson's "An Early Swedish Settlement in Michigan," Svante Lofgren's "Some Swedish Business Pioneers in Washington," and Nils Yngve Wessel's "Some American Scandinavian Psychologists," all add to knowledge about Swedish contributions to American civilization. The year-

book concludes with the annual reports of the president and the treasurer of the Foundation, the report of the Curator of the Museum, and a list of members.

North, George. *The Description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland*. With an Introduction by Marshall W. S. Swan. Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, New York, 1946. Pp. xxx+76. By means of a facsimile reproduction of the first book in English entirely devoted to Sweden together with an excellent introduction, Dr. Swan has rendered a genuine service to everyone who is interested in Anglo-Swedish literary and political relations. Included are also a reproduction of North's Latin dedication of the book to Nils Gyllenstierna, Erik XIV's ambassador to the court of Elizabeth; a translation of the dedication; and a facsimile reproduction of the pages on which Gabriel Harvey made marginal notes in his copy.

In his Introduction, Dr. Swan gives accounts of the author, the historical background against which the book was written, and the text itself. The treatment of the historical background—Erik XIV's courtship of Elizabeth—is particularly enlightening.

Nordlands Trompet av Petter Dass. Edited by Didrik Arup Seip. H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1947. Pp. 172. Pages 5–120 comprise the text of the poem. Pages 121–140 discuss the basis of the present text, including brief descriptions of the manuscripts A–Q (pp. 134–138) and of the editions A–C (pp. 138–139). Editions following C are listed on page 140. The variant readings of the manuscripts and the earlier editions occur on pages 140–160. Pages 161–172 provide pertinent historical and lexicographical information. Of the variant readings Professor Seip says:

For det første har jeg villet få med alle reelle avvik i håndskriftene som altså representerer en eldre redaksjon *av* verket; for det andre har det vært viktig å få med skrivemåter som gir bidrag til vår ordhistorie For det tredje kan de ulike lesemåter gi opplysning om forholdet mellom avskriftene (p. 133).

Manuscript P was known, but it could not be found when Professor Seip was working on his 1927 edition of *Nordlands Trompet*. P has since been made available, and Q ("det eneste fullstendige håndskrift" [p. 137]) was presented to the University Library, Oslo, in 1935. Two short quotations indicate the value

of *PQ* in their relation to the present text:

Teksten i nærværende utgave bygger da i alt vesentlig på *a*, den første norske trykte utgave, og på *b*. Men trykkfeil og forvanskninger er rettet etter *c* og etter håndskriftene (særlig etter *Q*) (p. 132) Sammen med utgavene går *P* og *Q* tilbake på en tekst hvor en mengde fremmedord er byttet om med nordiske ord. Det ser ut som Petter Dass selv har foretatt en utrensing av lærde fremmedord, rimeligvis fordi han hadde oppdaget at hans bok fikk ikke bare lærde lesere. Jeg slutter derfor at hss. A-O går tilbake på en tekst før dikteren hadde omarbeidet sitt verk på dette punkt, mens *PQ* og utgavene har en tekst som dikteren selv har revidert (p. 138).

The significance of Professor Seip's 1947 edition of *Nordlands Trompet* lies in the fact that he has made use of manuscripts *PQ*, which have enabled him to reevaluate the text of the poem as we know it from the earlier editions.

Den unga Parnassen. Ett urval av Gustaf Näsström och Martin Strömberg. P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, Stockholm, 1947. Pp. 237. This handbook consists of somewhat revised versions of a series of articles that appeared under the heading *Den unga Parnassen* in the literary section of *Stockholms-Tidningen* during 1946 and 1947. As Gustaf Näsström explains in a very brief foreword, the purpose of the articles was to introduce Swedish readers to new Swedish writers. In the anthology are included fifty-nine brief articles, each one of which is an estimate of a particular author. At the head of each article is a picture of this author. The book is attractive and worth reading; its value cannot, however, yet be estimated since most of these writers have just begun their literary careers.

Larsen, Karen. *A History of Norway*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1948. Pp. x+591. \$6.00. For many years to come this latest addition to the list of publications of the Foundation will undoubtedly be the most widely consulted American history of Norway. Prepared by Dr. Karen Larsen, professor of history at St. Olaf College, the book brings the account of Norwegian history from its beginnings up to and including 1946. The concluding chapter on Norway during and after the Second World War will be particularly useful.

An examination of the contents of the volume makes accepta-

ble the claim made on the dust cover that "All aspects of Norwegian life receive attention in this book." Readers who are primarily interested in Norwegian literature will be grateful to Dr. Larsen for her very clear and stimulating explanation not only of the political, social, and cultural environment in which Wergeland, Ibsen, Björnson, and other great Norwegian writers did their work but also of their relationship to that environment.

Steffen, Richard. *Sidor av en samtida*. Kooperativa Förbundets bokförlag, Stockholm, 1947. Pp. 336. Price, 10 crowns. Paper covers. These memoirs afford pleasant and profitable reading. Speaking of his written production, Professor Steffen says (p. 159): "Det enda arbete som kan skryta med en verkligt stor läsekrets är *Svensk litteraturhistoria för den högre elementarundervisningen*." With this book many of our readers are familiar. Now, eighty-five years old, he has written his memoirs, in which he relates, among other things, anecdotes about a great many of his well-known contemporaries. The result is a picture of the cultural life of a period with which we still have close connections. Since 1906 Steffen has lived in Visby, first (until 1928) as *Rektor vid Högre allmänna läroverket*, then as *Föreståndare för arkivdepån i Visby* (1927-1946), whence we learn much about Gottland. Chapters are devoted to Gustaf Fröding, a study trip to Norway in 1890, "Anders Zorn och spelmanstävlingarna," the organization of co-operatives, a trip to Russia, music, an almost successful attempt to get into politics, and many other subjects. We thus become acquainted with a scholar and teacher who has had a many-sided interest in the life of his time. The volume concludes (pp. 243-336) with "Tal vid skilda tillfällen," mostly addresses delivered before students and their parents. Here we get a particularly clear and sympathetic view of the author.

Våra folkrörelser. En läsebok, utgiven av ABF:s kulturkommitté. Kooperativa förbundets bokförlag, Stockholm, 1946. Pp. 255. Price, 6.50 crowns. An attractively printed and illustrated volume, this book provides information about many aspects of contemporary Swedish civilization and about the background of the many changes that have taken place in the last few decades. Among the authors who have contributed articles are peo-

ple like Gunnar Heckscher, Gunnar Westin and Harry Ohlsson. Written in a highly readable Swedish, the book could serve very well as an aid to Americans who are interested in contemporary Swedish literature; it presents accounts of contemporary institutions and movements which throw a great deal of light on the content of recent Swedish novels and other types of literature.

American Swedish Historical Foundation Yearbook—1948, Philadelphia, 1948. Pp. 120. Paper bound. In addition to the annual reports of the foundation, the yearbook contains five excellent articles, all of which have to do with Swedish-American matters: Ormond Rambo, Jr.'s "The First Pioneers: The Rambo Family," Gunnar Westin's "Background of the Swedish Pioneer Immigration, 1840-1850," Axel J. Uppvall's "A Wisconsin Pioneer: Gustaf Unonius and His *Recollections*," Marshall W. S. Swan's "A California Pioneer: John Brown," and Leland H. Carlson's "Swedish Pioneers and the Discovery of Gold in Alaska." Three full-page illustrations—the Gunnar Rambo house of 1662, the Castle Garden Landing Depot, and Unonius' log home in Wisconsin—add to the attractiveness of the yearbook.

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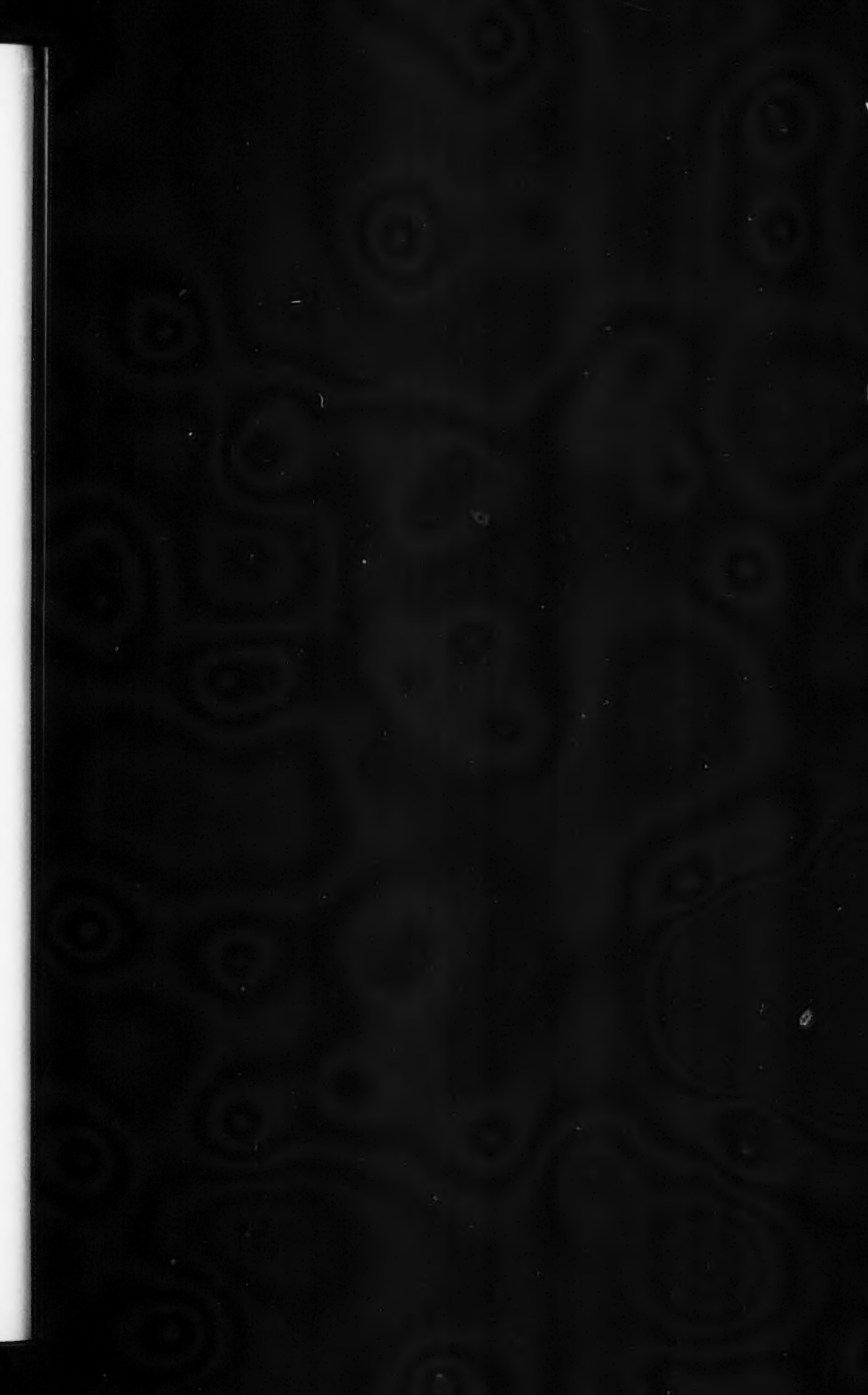
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